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Guillotined Oct^r 31st 1793.*



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THE
COMMERCE
OF
AMERICA WITH EUROPE;
PARTICULARLY WITH
FRANCE AND GREAT-BRITAIN;
COMPARATIVELY STATED AND EXPLAINED.
SHEWING
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
TO THE INTERESTS OF FRANCE,
AND POINTING OUT THE ACTUAL SITUATION
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF NORTH-AMERICA,
IN REGARD TO
Trade, Manufactures and Population.

By J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE,
AND
ETIENNE CLAVIERE.

Translated from the last French Edition,
Revised by BRISSOT, and called the SECOND VOLUME of his
View of America.

With the Life of BRISSOT, and an Appendix,
By the Translator.

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A

SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

J. P. BRISSOT.

By the Editor.

HE was born at the village of Ouarville, near Chatres, in Oreannois, on the 14th of January, 1754. His father was what the French called a *Traiteur*; that is, keeper of an eating house or an ordinary. He was intended for the profession of the law, and was articled to an attorney for that purpose. But he grew disgusted with the chicane and turpitude he was daily obliged to witness, and therefore, after the five years of the articleship were expired, he left Chatres and went to Paris.

An accident one night at the theatre at Paris placed him in the company of an English gentleman. They became intimate, and from this gentleman he obtained some knowledge of the English language; which he afterwards improved by a residence in London.

He had received a regular classical education, and acquired, by strict application, a tolerable knowledge of the German, Italian, and Spanish languages, sufficient to consult the authors who have written in those languages. On his arrival at Paris, his first

study was jurisprudence, with an intention of becoming an advocate in parliament. No science however escaped his attention. He attended lectures and experiments in every branch of science; wherein his active genius found ample exercise. Chymistry was his favourite object of pursuit; but his circumstances were too limited to indulge much in it. The small patrimony which he inherited from his father did not exceed forty pounds per annum.

In the year 1777 he made his first tour to London. During his stay in London he became engaged in the conduct of a French newspaper, at that time called the *Courier de l'Europe*, but since the *Courier de Londres*. Some misunderstanding having happened concerning the stamps (at the stamp-office in London) for this paper, the proprietor took a resolution of printing it at Boulogne sur-mer; and Brissot was appointed the Editor, and resided at Boulogne for that purpose. He continued in this capacity at Boulogne about two years. From thence he went to Paris, and was admitted Counsellor in Parliament.—Early in the year 1782 he went to Neuchâtel to superintend the printing of one of his books (mentioned hereafter). This was the memorable period of the revolution at Geneva. Here he became acquainted with M. Claviere and M. du Royray, who, with a numerous party, were expelled that city, and sought an asylum in Ireland.

In the autumn of this year, he married a daughter of Madame Dupont of Boulogne. This young lady had been recommended to the celebrated Madame de Genlis, who obtained a situation for her in the nursery of the Duke de Chartres, late Duke of Orleans, who suffered under the guillotine; in which situation she continued some time after her marriage.

At the beginning of the year 1783, he visited London a second time. His view in this journey was to establish in London, a Lyceum, or Academy
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of Arts and Sciences, together with an office of general correspondence. In this undertaking he was encouraged by some of the first literary men in France; and a Monsieur du Forge, musician at Paris, was so captivated with the scheme, that he advanced four thousand livres, (166l.) for one third share of the profits. Brissot was to have the sole management, and the other two thirds of the profits. He took a house in Newman-street, Oxford-street; and published a prospectus of his undertaking. He sent for his wife and his youngest brother (his eldest brother was a priest.) At this time he commenced his description of the sciences in England (mentioned hereafter) to be published monthly. Having in one of his publications taken occasion to vindicate the Chevalier Launay, editor of the *Courier du Nord*, printed at Maestricht, the editor of the *Courier de l'Europe*, now M. du Morande, was so highly offended by it, that he became from that time Brissot's most determined enemy. It is to be observed, that the *Courier du Nord*, and the *Courier de l'Europe*, were rival newspapers. De Launay quitted Maestricht, and went to Paris, where he was immediately put into the Bastile, and was never more heard of.

In the month of May, 1784, Brissot was arrested by his printer in London. Although he was at this time very well known to several persons of rank and fortune, yet he was too delicate to apply to any of them for pecuniary assistance. But after remaining a day or two in a lock-up house in Gray's Inn Lane, he sent his brother to an intimate friend, who instantly paid the printer his bill, and liberated him.

The next morning Brissot set out for France, leaving his wife and brother in England, assuring them he would quickly return, which he certainly intended. But in this he was severely disappointed. Thus ended his literary enterprise of establishing a Lyceum in London, in which he embarked his

whole property with a degree of infatuation and zeal that seemed to border upon insanity. During his residence in London he became acquainted with one Count de Pelleport, author of several pamphlets against the principal persons of the French Court, particularly of one called *Soirees d'Antoinette*, for the apprehension of the author of which the French court offered a thousand pounds (1000 Louis) reward. Brissot, instead of proceeding directly to Paris, stopped at Boulogne, and resided there with his mother-in-law: here he resolved to continue his publication on the original plan. Du M—— knowing that Pelleport was the author of the offensive pamphlet, and that Brissot and Pelleport were intimate, resolved to obtain the reward, and gratify his resentment. He applied to Pelleport, offering him the superintendence of a publication to be carried on at Bruges, (near Ostend,) the salary of which was to be two hundred pounds per annum. Pelleport accepted the offer. But it was necessary to stop at Boulogne, where some final arrangements were to be made. In the month of July, Pelleport embarked for Boulogne with Captain Meredith. But the moment he landed, he was seized by the officers of the Police, who put him in chains and carried him to Paris, where he was sent to the Bastile. Du M—— was an agent of the Police of Paris. Information being given to the Police, that Brissot was at Boulogne, and that he was the intimate friend of Pelleport, he was immediately taken into custody, carried to Paris, and committed to the Bastile. However, it is certain that Brissot never wrote any thing against either the King or Queen of France. He was sincere in his abhorrence of the arbitrary and despotic principles of the French government, but with respect to the private conduct of the King and Queen, he never bestowed the smallest attention upon it. In this magazine of human victims, he continued about six weeks.

weeks. His wife applied to Madame Genlis in his favour, and Madame Genlis most generously made a point of it with the Duke de Chartres to obtain his liberty. The Duke de Chartres's interference does not appear by any document; but Brissot's acquittal of the charge brought against him appears in the following report of his examination, made to the French minister, M. Breteuil, on the 5th of September.

"The Sieur Brissot de Warville was conveyed to the Bastile on the day after the Sieur de Pelleport, who was arrested at Boulogne sur-mer, arrived at Paris. In consequence of his connections with this man, guilty of writing libels, he was suspected of having been his coadjutor. The attestation of a boy in the printing-office, from whence one of these libels issued, gave strength to suspicions; but this attestation, transmitted from London, is destitute of authenticity; and the Sieur Brissot de Warville, who has very satisfactorily answered to the interrogatories which were put to him, attributes his crimination to the animosity of enemies whom he conceives to have plotted against him in London. The Sieur Brissot de Warville is a man of talents, and of letters; he appears to have formed systems, and to entertain extraordinary principles; but it is certain that, for the last seven or eight months, his connections with the Sieur de Pelleport had ceased, and that he employed himself solely upon a periodical paper, which he obtained permission to circulate and sell in France, after having submitted it to the examination of a licenser."

It is proper to observe, that the addition of *de Warville*, which Brissot made to his name, (to distinguish himself from his elder brother) is a kind of local designation, not uncommon in many countries. William of Malmesbury, Geoffry of Monmouth, Rabin de Thoyras, Joan d'Arc, &c. &c. But in the ortho-

orthography he substituted the English *W* for the French dipthong *Ou*; the sound of that dipthong being similar to our *W*. Thus *Ouarville* is pronounced *Warville* in both languages.

In a very short time after his release from the Bastille, he very honourably discharged his pecuniary obligation to his friend in London.

In the year 1787, which was the era of the foundation of the French revolution, the Duke de Chartres, now become Duke of Orleans by the death of his father, embraced the party of the parliament against the Court. Upon the principle of gratitude Brissot attached himself to the Duke of Orleans. As an honest man he could not do otherwise.

We shall here pass by his tour to America, and some other circumstances, because they are intimately connected with the account of his writings, which is subjoined.

Upon his return to France he found that his celebrity had not been diminished by his absence. He was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly, and was much engaged in the committees of research, of which he was the reporter. He was also elected a member of the Legislative Assembly for the department of Paris. It must be observed, that the revolution cast a veil over the crimes of all those who had been obliged to leave their country. In this group who returned to France was Du M——. He opposed Brissot in his election for Paris, but Brissot was elected by a majority of more than three to one. However, Du M——'s party were excessively mortified; and they unceasingly calumniated Brissot in the most opprobrious terms. M. Petion, mayor of Paris, and who was Brissot's friend and townsman, contributed much to strengthen his interest and ascendancy.

Brissot now distinguished himself as one of the *Amis des Noirs* (friend of the Negroes) of whom he
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was a most zealous advocate. In a speech which he delivered in the Assembly in the year 1791, there is a strong trait of philanthropy.

Of this speech the following is a short extract: "You have heard of enormities that freeze you with horror; but Phalaris spoke not of his brazen bull, he lamented only the dagger that his own cruelty had raised against him. The colonists have related instances of ferocity; but give me, said he, an informed brute, and I will soon make a ferocious monster of him. It was a white man who first threw a negro into a burning oven; who dashed out the brains of a child in the presence of its father; who fed a slave with its own proper flesh. These are the monsters that have to account for the barbarity of the revolted savages. Millions of Africans have perished on this soil of blood. You break, at every step, the bones of the inhabitants, that nature has given to these islands: and you shudder at the relation of their vengeance. In this dreadful struggle the crimes of the whites are yet the most horrible. They are the offspring of despotism: whilst those of the blacks originate in the hatred of slavery, and the thirst of revenge. Is philosophy chargeable with these horrors? Does she require the blood of the colonists? Brethren, she cries, be just, be beneficent, and you will prosper.—Eternal slavery must be an eternal source of crimes;—divest it at least of the epithet *eternal*; for anguish that knows no limitation of period can only produce despair."

Upon the abolition of the French monarchy, in the month of September 1792, the Legislative Assembly dissolved itself. The constitution being dissolved by the abolition of the King, they conceived that it was the inherent right of the people to choose a new representation, in order to frame a new constitution, suited to the wishes of the people, and to the necessity of the existing circumstances of the times.

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In this general election Brissot was elected one of the deputies from the department of Eure and Loire. His abilities and talents became every day more conspicuous. He was chosen the Reporter of the Committee of Public Safety; in which situation he conducted himself without reproach, until the treacherous conduct of Dumourier threw a suspicion on the whole of the Gironde party.

Although assailed on all sides by his enemies, his character aspersed and depreciated by the basest of calumnies, Brissot shewed himself consistent with his public principles of philanthropy.

In the dreadful massacre of the 3d of September, his opponents, particularly Du M——, sought every opportunity to accomplish his destruction, by accusing him of being a principal instigator of those horrors. And it must be owned, that these repeated and continual calumnies weakened him in the public esteem. Du M—— was perfectly acquainted with the English method of writing a man down.

When Condorcet moved for the abolition of royalty, Brissot was silent.

When the motion was made to pass sentence of death on the King, Brissot spoke and voted for the appeal to the primary assemblies.

When Fayette was censured, Brissot defended him.

When the Duke of Orleans (M. de Egalité) was censured, Brissot defended him.

The two first seem to have arisen in principles of humanity.

The two last, unquestionably, arose in the strongest ties of gratitude and friendship.

A conscientious man cannot suffer a more severe affliction, than when his private honour places him against his public duty.

Of Brissot's Writings ; and particularly of this Work.

Upon the settlement of the American government after the war, he became an enthusiastic admirer of the new constitution of that great country. But some French persons, who had been in America, and were returned to France, had published their thoughts and opinions of America, in a manner that was nothing short of illiberality. The reader will find the principal names of these writers in the thirty-second chapter of the first volume. Brissot was fired with indignation at this treatment of a people, whom he conceived could not in any wise have deserved such reproach ; and, imagining that the general peace in 1783, had opened an honourable and free communication of reciprocal commercial advantages between America and France, he wrote *this volume* with the view of supporting and establishing that primary idea, or *theory* of a French commerce with the United States.

Upon this point it is no more than ordinary candour to observe, that all which Brissot recommends, explains, or relates, concerning a French commerce with the United States, applies equally, and in some points more than equally, to the British commerce with them. Every British merchant and trader may derive some advantage from a general view of the principles which he has laid down for the establishment and regulation of a reciprocal commerce between France and America. The produce and manufactures of England are infinitely better suited to the wants of America ; and therefore all his theory, which is directed to the welfare and improvement of France, must strongly attach the attention of the British merchant and mechanic ; who, in this great point, have not at present any superiors, but have several rivals. Brissot's ambition was to make France
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the greatest and most powerful rival. And every candid person must allow that he deserved much credit of his countrymen for the progress he made, in this first attempt, to open the eyes of the French nation to prospects of new sources of advantage. All that is further necessary to say of this work, is said by Brissot himself in the introduction, from the tenth to the twentieth pages. In the last French edition of Brissot's Travels in America, published by himself, about seven or eight months before his decapitation, this volume is placed the last of that work. We have followed the Author's arrangement, and collated the whole by the last Paris edition.

Of the preceding volume, entitled, "New Travels in the United States of America," we have nothing to add: the whole of the French edition is now before the reader.

Of Brissot's other works it is proper to mention the following.

The Theory of Criminal Laws, in two volumes—Although M. la Cretelle, at the conclusion of his Essay on the Prejudices attached to Infamy, speaks in flattering terms of this work; for he says, that it exhibits an extensile knowledge, and shews the writer's ambition ascends to great principles; yet to those persons who have read Beccaria's Essay on Crimes and Punishments, it will not appear that Brissot has added much novelty to the subject.

The Necessity of a Reform of the Criminal Laws.

What Reparation is due to innocent Persons unjustly accused.

These were two discourses which were crowned by the Academy of Chalons sur Marne, and were printed in the form of two pamphlets. The ministers of Louis XVI. were a good deal offended at the principles they contained, and they forbid the Academy proposing the discussing of similar subjects at any of their future meetings.

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This check served but as a stimulus to Brissot to continue his subject. He therefore, in two years afterwards, publishes his *Philosophical Library of the Criminal Laws*. This work is now *ten volumes*. Brissot's view in this work was, to diffuse and explain those grand principles of freedom which produced the revolution in England in the year 1688, and the revolution in America in the year 1775. Before the dissolution of the monarchy in France, those principles were almost unknown to the French, and are still almost unknown to the other parts of Europe. But as several of the monarchs of Europe approved of the American revolution, it may be presumed that their subjects will not long continue ignorant of the motives and grounds of a measure which was honoured with the patronage of their sovereigns. This circumstance alone should convince the English, that many of the powers of Europe behold with pleasure the diminution of their greatness and consequence, and that very few of those powers are ever friendly to them, except during the time they are receiving a bribe, by virtue of an instrument, commonly called a *subsidiary treaty*.

Of Dr. Price of London he was an admirer; but of Dr. Priestley he was also an imitator, for he amused himself frequently with chymistry, physics, anatomy, and religion. On the last subject there is a presumption that he wrote but little; for in his *Letter to the Archbishop of Sens* (the only tract on religion, by him, that has come to the Editor's knowledge) he says, "That religious tyranny had been prostrated by the blows of Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, and D'Iderot." His mind was capacious, and his comprehension extensive. In his zeal to become an imitator of Priestley, he published a volume *Concerning Truth, or Thoughts on the Means of attaining Truth, in all the branches of Human Knowledge*. Here was a wide field for the display of Brissot's talents and industry.

His design was to have carried on the work to several volumes, and to have invited the communications of the literati of all Europe, in all the different sciences, and, it may be added, *speculations*. But there was such a freedom of sentiment manifested in the first volume, that both the author and printer were alarmed with the terrors of the Bastile. Filled with these apprehensions, he left Paris, and went to Neufchatel. There he printed his prospectus, and he caused it to be also printed in London. But when these copies were attempted to be circulated in France, they were seized. Not a single number was permitted to be seen in any bookseller's shop in France.

Finding the execution of his project thus rendered impracticable, he left Neufchatel, and went to London; where, in order to give currency to his free opinions, he altered the title of his book. He proposed to publish the remaining part periodically, under the name of *A Description of the Sciences and Arts in England*; great part of which was intended to be devoted to an examination of, and to observations on, the English constitution. His friends solicited the French ministry to permit this work to be reprinted at Paris. At first they obtained this favour; and the work went on as far as twelve numbers, or two volumes; after which it was prohibited, not more to the author's mortification than to the injury of his pocket. M. de Vergennes, who was at that time minister of France, had so strong a dislike to every thing that was English, that he would not endure the smallest commendation upon any part of the English constitution, or commerce, to be promulgated in France. He had begun to discover, that the favourite idea of his master, of separating the British colonies from the British empire, might lead to an investigation of the principles of government

ment at home, and prove extremely dangerous to a despotic monarchy.

Notwithstanding he was thus disappointed a second time, he still pursued his design; but under a second change of title. He published two volumes under the title of *Philosophical Letters on the History of England*. The title did not attract the public attention; because two volumes under a similar name had been published in London, and had, with some art, been imposed on the public as the production of Lord Lyttleton; but they were written by Goldsmith, in support of tyranny and aristocracy.

Every circumstance of cruelty and oppression met with the observation of Brissot. When the late Emperor Joseph was punishing Horiah, the leader of the revolt in Walachia, and issuing his shocking edict against emigration, Brissot addressed *two letters to him* upon those subjects, which were read throughout Germany. In one letter he affirmed, that Horiah was justified in his revolt; in the other he held, that a privilege to emigrate from one country to another, was a sacred right derived from nature.

He was an enthusiast in his admiration of the American revolution, and of the conduct of the Americans in risking every thing to emancipate themselves from the tyranny of Great-Britain. Upon comparing the new constitution of America with that of England, he changed his opinion of the latter—he *ceased to approve of it*.

Some French gentlemen, who had visited America, having, when they returned to France, written some severe remarks on the Americans, Brissot defended the Americans, particularly in his book called *A Critical Examination of the Travels of the Marquis of Chateaux*. But as this work has been already mentioned in the preceding volume (see chapters 31 and 32), it is not necessary to say any thing more of it here.

It must never be forgot, that during the period of

the French monarchy there were more intrigues always going on in the French court than in any court in Europe. At this time (the year 1787) the court was full of intrigues—libidinous as well as political; for though the King had no mistresses, the Queen had her favourites and her party. Neckar was dismissed, and Calonne was appointed by her influence. Montmorin succeeded Vergennes, and the Duke of Orleans was at the head of the party that sought the overthrow of the new ministry. When Calonne assembled the Notables at Versailles, Brislot published a pamphlet entitled *No Bankruptcy; or Letters to a Creditor of the State concerning the Impossibility of a National Bankruptcy, and the Means of restoring Credit and Peace*. This pamphlet, which contained many severe observations on Calonne's measures and plans, and some arguments in support of certain privileges claimed by the people, the Duke of Orleans was highly pleased with. He made inquiry after the author, for the tract was anonymous, and having discovered him, he ordered his chancellor to provide a situation for him. He was made secretary-general of the Duke's chancery. This did not save him from ministerial resentment. A letter de cachet was made out against him; but having notice of it, he instantly escaped to the Netherlands. He was for several months editor of the *Courier Belgique*, printed at Mechlin. It was during this voluntary exile that he formed his project of visiting America. He communicated his design to the Philanthropic Society of the Friends of the Negroes at Paris, and was by them assisted and recommended to several persons in America. The produce of this visit to America was the first volume of this work, written upon his return to France. The French ministry being changed before he left Europe, he embarked at Havre de Grace in the month of June, 1788.

Intelligence having reached him in America of
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the rapid progress liberty was making in France, he returned to his native country in 1789, in a confidence that his labours might become useful to the general interest.

His first publication after his return (except the preceding volume of his travels in America) was, *A Plan of Conduct for the Deputies of the People*.

His knowledge and admiration of America naturally produced a friendship with the Marquis de la Fayette, who introduced him into the club of the Jacobins.

We shall pass by the several steps and measures of the revolution; for to give an account of all Brissot's concern therein, would be to write a large volume upon that event only. But the mention of a few circumstances which are attached to Brissot peculiarly, is indispensable.

By the interest, or rather influence, of Fayette, he was made a member of the Commune of Paris. He was agent of the Police, and a member of the Committee of Inspection at Paris; and afterwards a representative for the department of Eure and Loire.

He commenced a newspaper, which he called *Patriote Français*; in which he constantly defended the conduct of la Fayette. He attached himself to the party called Girondists.

To the English reader this name may require some explanation. The warm and most violent of the National Convention, having gained the confidence and support of the city of Paris by various arts, but principally by declaring, upon every opportunity, that Paris must constantly be the place in which the National Representation must hold their deliberations; to balance against this power of Paris, Condorcet, Petion, Vergniaux, Brissot, Isnard, and others, all members of the Convention, endeavoured to gain the commercial cities in their interest. Bourdeaux was the principal of those cities.

cities which joined them; it is situated on the river Garonne, locally pronounced *Gironde*, which being the center of a department, named from the river, the appellation of Girondists was given to the whole party.

The whole was a struggle for power: there was no other object whatever. It is a foolish, and an idle assertion, in those who say, that Brissot and the party had engaged in a plot to restore the monarchy of France. Whatever their opinions might have been in some of the early stages of the revolution, perhaps from an apprehension that the people of France might hesitate at an abrupt proposition of a republican government, they were unquestionably innocent of the charge at the time it was made. Here follow, however, the documents as published by authority, in justification of the execution, which, like all other state papers, in every country, consist of the best apology, or most colourable pretence, for a thing that has been done by order of government.

*Report against Brissot, and the other arrested Deputies;
made October 3, 1793.*

The Citizens of Paris, being informed that Amar was to present his report from the Committee of General Safety this day, filled the galleries at a very early hour.

As soon as he appeared at the bar, the applauses were so loud and continued, that he was unable to begin for more than a quarter of an hour.

At length, amidst the most profound silence, he read his report.

He began by stating, that, before he proceeded to the report which had been expected with such impatience, and would amply recompense the unavoidable delay that had prevented a more speedy gratification of the wishes of the people, he was commanded

manded by the Committee of General Safety to request that none of the members of the Convention should be allowed to go out till the decree of accusation had been adopted. This request was immediately complied with, and a decree being passed, the President gave orders to the Commander of the National Guards to allow no members to go beyond the bar.

Amar then affirmed that the gigantic arm of treason had been uplifted to strike the representative majesty of the people, and to level with the ground the unity and indivisibility of the French Republic.—The arm of treason had been nerved and supported by the united energies of Brissot, Condorcet, Gaudet, Vergniaud, and the other Deputies.

Brissot, the leader of this traitorous band, commenced his political career by being a Member of the Commune of Paris, to which he was introduced by La Fayette, to whose designs he had prostituted his pen. At this æra of his life he made his appearance three times in the Jacobin Club. In the first visit he proposed those measures which have proved so disastrous to the Colonies; in the second, he attempted to produce the assassination of the people in the Champ de Mars; and in the third visit he moved the declaration of war against Great-Britain.

Introduced into the Legislative Assembly, he immediately entered into a coalition with Condorcet and the Girondine faction, whose designs he approved and supported. The consummation of the object of this coalition was to have been produced by the surrender of the Republican body to the violation of the Allied Powers, and by the destruction of that unity and indivisibility which can alone be expected to combat with effect the tyrants who would undermine the proud pillar of Liberty, and destroy even the vestige of freedom from the face of the earth.

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The Court made use of their influence to declare war at a moment when the armies and the fortified places were in a state of absolute want, or entrusted to traitors chosen by a perjured King. They protected Narbonne, the minister, whom all France accused of the measures taken to render this war fatal to liberty; and in their Journals they calumniated the Patriots who had the courage to resist them. They defended Dietrich, convicted of being an accomplice with La Fayette, and of having offered to give up Strasbourg; and while the chiefs of that faction protected the conspirators and traitorous Generals, the patriotic soldiers were proscribed, and the volunteers of Paris sent to be butchered.

During the time we were surrounded by the satellites of despots, when the court was going to open the gates of France to them, after having caused the intrepid defenders of liberty to be murdered at Paris, Brissot and his accomplices did all they could to counteract the generous efforts of the people, and to save the tyrant. During and after the unhappy insurrection of the 10th of August, they endeavoured to prevent the abdication of Louis XVI. and to preserve to him the crown.

In the night of the 10th of August, Petion, shut up in the Thuilleries, consulted with the satellites of tyrants the plan to massacre the people, and gave orders to Mandat, Commander of the National Guards, to let the people come in, and then to cannonade them in the rear. A few days before, Genfonne and Vergniaud engaged to defend Louis XVI. on condition that the three ministers, Roland, Claviere, and Servan were recalled.

Petion and La Source made use of all their means to send the federates from Paris. Brissot, Kerfaint, and Rouyer, according to the letters found in the Thuilleries, gave bad advice to the tyrant, and, in defiance of the laws, they dared to solicit places in the
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the ministry, under a promise to extend the destructive authorities of the despot.

The project to overturn the foundation of the Republic, and to murder the friends of Liberty, was put in practice in the Legislative Assembly, by Brissot, in his insidious harangue on the 20th of July, 1792, opposing the abdication of the throne. We have seen Brissot and his accomplices Republicans under Monarchy, and Royalists under the Republic; always constant in their designs to ruin the French nation, and to abandon it to its enemies. At the time the hypocritical tyrant, Louis the XVI. came into the Assembly to accuse the people, whose massacre he had prepared,—Vergniaud, like a true accomplice of the tyrant, told him—"That the Assembly held it to be one of their most sacred duties to maintain all constituted authorities, and consequently that of Royalty."

When the Attorney-general, Raderer, came to announce, with the accent of grief, that the citizens in insurrection had taken the resolution not to separate till the Assembly had pronounced the forfeiture of the Crown, President Vergniaud silenced the applauses from the galleries by telling them, that they violated the laws in obstructing the freedom of opinion; and he told Raderer, that the Assembly was going to take into immediate consideration the proposal which he, Vergniaud, had made, shewing the necessity of preserving the existence of the King.

Kersaint seconded the motion. Geradet proposed to liberate Mandat, who was arrested for having given orders to fire on the people; or, in the event that that commander was no more, to send a deputation of twelve Girondist members, authorised to choose his successor, in order by this means to keep the public force at the disposition of that mischievous faction.

In that memorable sitting of the 10th of August,
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the Girondist chiefs, Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonne, took by turns the chair, and went to the galleries to slacken the energy of the people, and to save Royalty, under the shield of the pretended constitution. They spoke of nothing but obedience to the constitutional laws to those citizens that came to the bar to protect their newly acquired liberty.

When the municipality came to invite the Assembly to send the *proces-verbal* of the great operations of the 10th of August, in order to prevent the calumnies of the enemies of liberty, Guadet interrupted the members who made that demand, by making a motion to recommend anew to the magistrates the execution of the laws.—He blamed the Council of the Commune for having confined Petion in his own house; though they did it in order to render it impossible for that impostor to make even insurrection subservient to act against liberty.

When a deputation from the suburb St. Antoine came to announce the civic affliction of the widows and children massacred on that day, the perfidious Guadet coolly answered them, "That the Assembly hoped to restore public tranquillity and the reign of the laws."

Vergniaud, in the name of the extraordinary commission directed by that faction, proposed the suspension of the King, who had been dethroned by the people, as a simple conservatory act of royalty; and seemed greatly affected at the events which had saved the country, and operated the ruin of the tyrants. He opposed Choudieu's motion, tending to exclude from the Convention the members of both the Legislative and Constituent Assemblies; and with the same cunning he prevented the registers of the civil list from being deposited on the table.

Guadet wished to have a governor named to the son of the late King, whom he called the Prince Royal. Brissot and his accomplices always affected to

to invoke the literal execution of the Constitution, while the people, in the name of the martyrs who fell before the castle of the Thuilleries, demanded the complete overthrow of the tyrant.

Vergniaud opposed this demand, saying, that the people of Paris were but a section of the empire, and affected to oppose it in this manner to the departments.—He likewise resisted the petition made by the Commons to put the tyrant under arrest. He used all his efforts with Brissot, Petion, and Manuel, to get Louis XVI. confined in the Luxembourg, from whence it would have been easier for him to escape than out of the tower of the temple.

Genfonne and Gaudet had the servility to publish, at different times, that Louis XVI. had commanded the Swiss not to fire upon the people. From that time, the leaders of the Girondists (Department of Bourdeaux), compelled to praise the events of the 10th of August, continued, notwithstanding, to undermine the Republic. They published the severest satires against the Jacobins, against the Commons and people of Paris, and in general against all those who contributed to the destruction of monarchy. Roland's house was filled with packets of libels, which were to be distributed among the people, and sent into the departments.

These guilty men protected all the conspirators, favoured the progress of Brunswick with all their power, and were the agents of the English faction which has exerted so fatal an influence during the course of our revolution. Carra was in league with certain characters of the court of Berlin. In his *Journal Politique* of the 25th of August, 1791, he formed a wish, on account of the marriage of the Duke of York with the Princess of Prussia, "that the Duke might become Grand Duke of Belgium, with all the powers of the King of the French." While Brunswick was preparing to decide the fate of the
French

French nation by the force of arms, Carra, in the same Journal, represented him as a great commander, the greatest politician, the most amiable Prince in Europe, formed to be the restorer of liberty in all nations.—He published, that this Duke, on his arrival at Paris, would go to the Jacobins, and put on the red cap, in order to interest the people in favour of this satellite of tyrants. Finally, Carra was so audacious as to propose openly to the Jacobins, for the Duke of York to be King of the French.

From these and many other facts, too tedious to mention, there results, that Carra and his associates were iniquitous and deep dissemblers, pensioned by England, Prussia, and Holland, to enable a Prince of that family which rules over those countries to obtain the crown of France. This same Carra, together with Sillery, the dishonoured confidant of a contemptible Prince, was sent by the then reigning faction to Dumourier, to complete that treason which saved the almost ruined army of the Prussian despot. Dumourier came suddenly to Paris to concert with Brissot, Petion, Guadet, Gensonne, and Carra, the perfidious expedition into the Austrian Netherlands, which he undertook when the Prussian army, wasting away by contagious disorders, was peaceably retiring—while the French army was burning with indignation at the inaction in which they were kept.

It was not the fault of this faction, if the motion often made by Carra to receive Brunswick at Paris, was not realized. He meditated, in the beginning of September, 1792, to deliver up this city, without means of defence, by flying beyond the river Loire, with the Legislative Assembly, with the Executive Council, and with the captive King. He was supported in it by Roland, Claviere, and le Brun, the creatures and instruments of Brissot and his accomplices.

But these perfidious ministers, having been threatened

ened by one of their colleagues to be denounced to the people, it was then that Carra and Sillery were sent to Dumourier, to authorize this General to negotiate with Frederick William, to enable this Prince to get out of the kingdom, on condition that he should leave the Netherlands without the sufficient means of defence, and deliver them up to the numerous and triumphant armies of France.

The calumnious harangues that were made in the Tribunes were prepared or sanctioned at Roland's, or in the meetings that were held at Valaze's and Pétion's. They proposed to surround the Convention with a pretorian guard, under the name of Departmental Force, which was to be the basis of their federal system. In the Legislative Assembly they meditated a flight beyond the Loire, with the Assembly, the Executive Council, the Royal Family, and the public treasure. Kerfaint, at his return from Sedan, dared to propose this project to the Executive Council; and it was supported by Roland, Claviere, and le Brun, the creatures and instruments of Brissot.

The faction strove to put off the judgment of the tyrant by impeding the discussion. They appointed a commission of twenty-four members to examine the papers found in the Thuilleries, in the guilt of which some of these members were implicated; and they endeavoured, in concert with Roland, to conceal those which tended to discover their transaction with the court. They voted for the appeal to the people, which would have been a germ for civil war, and afterwards wanted a respite to the judgment.

They incessantly repeated, that the Convention could do no good, and that it was not free. These declamations misled the departments, and induced them to form a coalition which was near being fatal to France.

They patronized an incivic peace, entitled, *L'ami des Loix*.

On the 14th of January, Barbaroux and his friends had given orders to the battalion of Marseillois to surround the Convention.

On the 20th, Valadi wrote to the other deputies, "To-morrow in arms to the Convention—he is a coward who does not appear there."

Brissot, after the condemnation of Louis Capet, censured the Convention, and threatened France with the vengeance of the European Kings. When it was his object to bring on war, he spoke in an opposite sense, and treated the downfall of all thrones, and the conquest of the universe, as the sport of the French nation. Being the organ of the Diplomatic Committee, composed almost entirely of the same faction, he proposed war suddenly against England, Holland, and all the powers that had not then declared themselves.

This faction acted in coalition with perfidious Generals, particularly with Dumourier. Genfonne held a daily correspondence with him: Petion was his friend. He avowed himself the Counsellor of the Orleans party, and had connection with Sillery and his wife.

After the revolt of Dumourier, Vergniaud, Guadet, Brissot, and Genfonne, wished to justify his conduct to the Committee of General Defence, asserting that the denunciations made against him by the Jacobins and the Mountain were the cause of his conduct; and that Dumourier was the protector of the *sound* part of the Convention. This was the party of which Petion, Brissot, Vergniaud, &c. were the chiefs and the orators.

When Dumourier was declared a traitor by the Convention, Brissot, in the *Patriote François*, as well as other writers, who were his accomplices, praised him, in defiance of the law. As members of the Committee of General Defence, they ought to have given information relative to the preparations that were

were making in La Vendée. The Convention, however, was not made acquainted with them till the war became serious.

They armed the Sections where Aristocracy reigned, against those where public spirit was triumphant.

They affected to believe that a plot was meditated by the Republicans against the National Convention, for the purpose of naming the commission of twelve, who, in an arbitrary manner, imprisoned the magistrates of the people, and made war against the patriots.

Isnard developed the views of the conspiracy, when he used this atrocious expression: "The astonished traveller will seek on what banks of the Seine Paris once stood." The Convention dissolved the commission, which, however, resumed its functions on its own authority, and continued to act.

The faction, by the addresses which it sent to the departments, armed them against Paris and the Convention. The death of numbers of patriots in the southern departments, and particularly at Marseilles, where they perished on the scaffold, was the consequence of those fatal divisions in the Convention, of which they were the authors.—The defection of Marseilles soon produced that of Lyons. This important city became the central point of the counter-revolution in the South. The republican municipality was dispersed by the rebels, and good citizens were massacred.—Every punishment that cruelty could devise to increase the torments of death was put in execution. The administrative bodies were leagued partly with Lyons, and partly with foreign Aristocrats, and with the Emigrants dispersed through the Swiss Cantons.

The cabinet of London afforded life and energy to this rebellious league. Its pretext was the anarchy that reigned at Paris—its leaders, the traitorous deputies of the Convention.

Whilst they made this powerful diversion in favour of the tyrants united against us, La Vendée continued to drink the blood of the patriots.

Carra and Duchatel were sent to this department in quality of Deputies from the National Convention.

Carra publicly exhorted the administrators of the Maine and Loire to send troops against Paris. Both these deputies were at the same time connected with the Generals of the combined armies.

Constard, sent also as a commissioner, carried his treasonable projects to such a length, as even to furnish supplies of provisions and stores to the rebels. The mission of the agents of this faction, sent to different parts of the republic, was marked by singular traitorous measures.

Perhaps the column of republican power would ere this have measured its length upon the ground, if the conspirators had preserved much longer their inordinate power. On the 10th of August, the foundation of the column was laid; on the 31st of May it was preserved from destruction. The accused published a thousand seditious addresses, a thousand counter-revolutionary libels, such as that addressed by Condorcet to the department of the Aisne. They are the disgraceful monuments of the treason by which they hoped to involve France in ruin.

Ducos and Fonfrede formed the flame of the rebellion, by their correspondence and their speeches, in which they celebrated the virtues of the conspirators.

Several of these conspirators fled, and dispersed themselves through the departments—They established there a kind of National Convention, and invested the administration with independent powers—they encircled themselves with guards and cannon, pillaged the public treasuries, intercepted provisions that were on the road to Paris, and sent them to the revolted inhabitants of the former provinces of Brittany.

tanny. They levied a new army, and gave Wimpfen, degraded by his attachment to tyranny, the command of this army.

They attempted to effect a junction with the rebels of la Vendée, and to surrender to the enemy the provinces of Brittany and Normandy.

They deputed assassins to Paris, to murder the members of the Convention, and particularly Marat, whose destruction they had solemnly sworn to accomplish. They put a poignard into the hands of a woman who was recommended to Duperret by Barbaroux and his accomplices. She was conveyed into the gallery of the Convention by Fauchet.—The enemies of France exalted her as a heroine. Petion pronounced her apotheosis at Caen, and threw over the blood-stained form of assassination the snowy robe of virtue.

Girey Dupre, the colleague of Brissot, in the publication of the *Patriote Français*, printed at Caen several songs, which invited, in a formal manner, the citizens of Caen to arm themselves with poignards, for the purpose of stabbing three deputies of the Convention, who were pointed out by name.

Brissot fled with a lie added to his other crimes. Had he gone to Switzerland, as the false passport stated, it would have been for the purpose of exciting a new enemy against France.

Rabaud St. Etienne, Rebecqui, Duprat, and Antiboul, carried the torch of sedition into the department of le Gard and the neighbouring departments. Biroteau, Rouger, and Roland, projected their terrible plots in Lyons, where they poured the ample stream of patriotic blood, by attaching to the friends of their country the appellation of anarchists and monopolizers.

At Toulon these endeavours were successful, and Toulon is now in the hands of the English. The same lot was reserved for Bourdeaux and Marseilles.

The reigning faction had made some overtures to Lord Hood, whose fleet they expected. The entire execution of the conspiracy in the South waited only for the junction of the Marseillaise and Lyonese, which was prevented by the victory gained by the Republican army which produced the reduction of Marseilles.

The measures of the conspirators were exactly similar to those of the enemies of France, and particularly of the English.—Their writings differed in nothing from those of the English ministers, and libellers in the pay of the English ministers.

Mr. PITT.

Wished to degrade and to dissolve the Convention.

He wished to assassinate the members of the Convention.

He wished to destroy Paris.

He wished to arm all nations against France.

In this intended partition of France, Mr. Pitt wished to procure a part for the Duke of York, or some other branch of his master's family.

He endeavoured to destroy our colonies.

The DEPUTIES.

Attempted to do the same.

The deputies procured the assassination of Marat and Le Pelletier.

The deputies did all in their power to produce this effect.

The deputies obtained a declaration of war against all nations.

Carra and Brissot entered into a panegyric of the Dukes of York and Brunswick, and even went so far as to propose them for Kings.

The deputies have produced the destruction of the colonies.

Brissot, Petion, Guadet, Gensonne, Vergniaud, Ducos, and Fonfrede, directed the measures relative to the colonies, which measures reduced them to the most lamentable situation.

Santhonax and Polverel, the guilty Commissioners who ravaged the colonies with fire and sword, are their accomplices. Proofs of their corruption exist in the correspondence of Raimond, their creature.

Of

Of the numerous facts of which the faction are accused, some relate only to particular individuals: the general conspiracy, however, is attached to all.

Upon this act of accusation they were tried before the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the 30th day of October, 1793. When the act of accusation was read to them in the court, they refused to make any answer to it, unless Robespierre, Barrere, and other members of the Committee of Safety, were present, and interrogated: they insisted upon those members being sent for; which being refused, and they still refusing to make any answer, the Judge stated to the Jury, that from the act of accusation it resulted that,

I. There existed a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, the liberty and safety of the French people.

II. That all the individuals denounced in the act of accusation are guilty of this conspiracy, as being either the authors of, or the accomplices in it.

The Jury of the Revolutionary Tribunal brought in their verdict at eleven o'clock at night, on the 30th of October, against

BRISSOT,

Vergniaud
Genfonne
Duprat
Valaze
Lehardi
Ducos
Fonfrede
Borleau
Gardien
Duchatel

Sillery
Fauchet
Duperret
Lafource
Carra
Beauvais
Mainvielle
Antiboul
Vigee, and
Lacaze,

who were declared to be the authors and accomplices of a conspiracy which had existed against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, against the liberty and security of the French people.

The

The President of the Revolutionary Tribunal immediately pronounced the sentence decreed by the constitution:—That they should suffer the punishment of death—that their execution should take place on the subsequent day, on the *Place de Revolution*—that their property should be confiscated, and that this sentence should be printed and posted up throughout the whole extent of the republic.

As soon as the sentence was pronounced, Valaze pulled a dagger from his pocket and stabbed himself.—The Tribunal immediately ordered that the body should be conveyed on the morrow to the *Place de la Revolution*, with the other deputies.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, on the 31st, the execution took place. The streets were lined with soldiers, and every precaution taken to prevent the disturbance of the public tranquillity.

Duchatel, Ducos, Fonfrede, and Lehardi, preserved a firm and undaunted air, and surveyed the engine of death with a composed and unruffled countenance.

The deportment of Brissot was manly—he preserved a fixed silence, and submitted his head to the guillotine, after surveying stedfastly, for a few moments, the Deputies, to whom, however, he did not speak.

Sillery saluted the people with much respect, and conversed a short time with his confessor, as did Fauchet.—Lafource died in a penitential manner.—Carra, Vergniaud, Genfonne, Duperret, Gardien, Duprat, Beauvais, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Antiboul, and Vigee, died with firmness, and with the exclamation of "*Vive la Republique.*"—The execution was concluded in thirty-seven minutes.

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INTRODUCTION,

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INTRODUCTION,

By J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE.

THE Court of Great-Britain had no sooner signed the Treaty acknowledging the Independence of her late Colonies in North America, than her merchants and political writers sought the means of rendering to her by commerce an equivalent for her losses by the war.

Lord Sheffield has predicted, in his Observations on the Commerce of America, "that England would always be the storehouse of the United States; that the Americans, constantly attracted by the excellence of her manufactures, the long experienced integrity of her merchants, and the length of credit; which they only can give, would soon forget the wounds which the ministerial despotism of London, as well as the ferocity of the English and German satellites, had given to America, to form with it new and durable connexions."*

This politician was the only one who appeared in that career; others followed it [Dr. Price, &c.] and the debates, which the new regulations of commerce proposed for America, produced in Parliament, prove that the matter was known, discussed, and profoundly examined.

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* These are not Lord Sheffield's words. They are M. Brissot's; and contain his description of Lord Sheffield's supposed sentiments, from a perusal of that Nobleman's Observations on the Commerce of America. EDIT.

INTRODUCTION.

The English nation resembled at that time a man who, coming out of a long delirium (wherein he had broken every thing that he ought to have held most dear,) eagerly strives to repair the ravages of his insanity.

As for us, we have triumphed, and the honour of the triumph is almost the only benefit we have reaped. Tranquil under the shade of our laurels, we see with indifference the relations of commerce which nature has created between us and the *United States*;—whilst, to use the language of vulgar policy, the English, of whom we are jealous as our rivals, whom we fear as our enemies, use the greatest efforts to make it impossible for us to form new connexions with our new friends.

That the English will succeed, there is no doubt, if our languor be not soon replaced by activity; if the greatest and most generous faculties, on our part, do not smoothen this commerce, new, and consequently easy to be facilitated: finally, if our ignorance of the state of America be not speedily dissipated by the constant study of her resources of territory, commerce, finance, &c. and affinities, they may have with those of their own.

Our ignorance! This word will undoubtedly shock,—for we have the pride of an ancient people: We think we know every thing,—have exhausted every thing:—Yes, we have exhausted every thing; but in what? In futile sciences, in frivolous arts, in modes, in luxury, in the art of pleasing women, and the relaxation of morals. We make elegant courses of chymistry, charming experiments, delicious verses, strangers at home, little informed of any thing abroad: this is what we are; that is, we know every thing *except that which is proper for us to know.**

It

* This assertion will perhaps appear severe and false, even to persons who think that we excel in physics and the exact sciences. But in granting this, is it these kinds of sciences to

It would be opening a vast field to shew what is proper for us to know, therefore I will not undertake it. I confine myself to a single point: I say that it concerns us essentially to have a thorough knowledge of the state of America, and that, nevertheless, we have scarcely begun the alphabet which leads to it. What I advance has been said before by Mr. Paine, a free American, and who has not a little contributed, by his patriotic writings, to spread, support, and exalt, among his fellow countrymen, the enthusiasm of liberty. I will remark, says he, in his judicious letter to the Abbé Raynal, *that I have not yet seen a description, given in Europe, of America, of which the fidelity can be relied on.*

In France, I say it with sorrow, the science of commerce is almost unknown, because its practice has long been dishonoured by prejudice; which prevents the gentry from thinking of it. This prejudice, which is improperly thought indestructible, because the nobility are improperly thought one of the necessary elements of a monarchical constitution; this would alone be capable of preventing French commerce from having activity, energy, and dignity, were it not to be hoped, that sound philosophy, in destroying it insensibly, *would bring men to the great idea of estimating individuals by their talents, and not by their birth:* without this idea there can be no great national commerce, but aristocratical men will abound; that is, men incapable of conceiving any elevated view; and men contemptible, not in a state to produce them.

B 2

Finally,

which a man who reflects ought at first to give himself up? Does not the study of his social and civil state more nearly concern him? Ought not this to interest him more than the number of stars, or the order of chymical affinities?—It is, however, the science of which we think the least. We are passionately fond of poetry: we dispute seriously about music; that is, we have a great consideration for playthings, and make a plaything of our affairs.

Finally, another prejudice, quite as absurd, which has been combated a thousand times, and is always predominant in France, withholds from the eyes of the public precious memoirs, and interesting discussions, which would inform France of her interests.

Who is ignorant that it is to the freedom of debate and public discussion that England owes the singular prosperity which, till lately, has followed her every where, in commerce, in arts, in manufactures, as well abroad as at home? a prosperity which she may enjoy in spite of the faults of her ministers; for none but these have ever endangered it; and it is to the freedom of debate that she has often owed her salvation from ruin. Who doubts that this liberty would not produce the same happy effects in France;—that it would not destroy false appearances;—that it would not prevent the destructive enterprizes of personal interest;—that it would not alarm mischievous indulgence, or the coalition of people in place with the enemies of the public welfare? Government seems at present to do homage to this influence of the freedom of discussion. At length, it appears to relax of its severity in the laws of the press; it has suffered some shackles, which restrained discussion, to be broken, especially in political matters. But how far are we still from feeling the happy effects of the liberty of the press, rather granted to public opinion, than encouraged by a real love of truth!

By what fatality are energetic discourses of truth ineffectual? This ought to be pointed out; government itself invites us to do it; the abuses which render information useless in France, ought to be laid open.

It is because the liberty of thinking and writing on political matters is but of recent date.

Because the liberty of the press is environed with many disgusting circumstances; and that an honest man who disdains libels, but loves frankness, is driven

ven

ven from the prefs by all those humiliating formalities which subject the fruit of his meditation and researches to a censure necessarily arising from ignorance.

It is because the censor, instituted to check the elevation of a generous liberty, thinks to flatter authority, by even exceeding the end proposed; suppresses truths, which would frequently have been received, for fear of letting too bold ones escape, with which he would have been reproached; multiplies objections, gives birth to fears, magnifies dangers, and thus discourages the man of probity, who would have enlightened his fellow citizens; whilst this censor sanctions scandalous productions, wherein reason is sacrificed to sarcasms, and severe morality to amiable vices.*

It is because there are but few writers virtuous enough, sufficiently organized, or in proper situations to combat and surmount these obstacles.

Because these writers, few in number, have but little influence; abuses weakly attacked and strongly defended, resist every thing which is opposed to them.

Because the necessity of getting works printed in foreign presses, renders the publication difficult; but few of them escape from the hands of greedy hawkers, who monopolize the sale, to sell at a dearer price; who post the mystery, and a false rarity, to sell dear for a longer time.

Because these books are wanting in the moment

B 3

when

* We may put in the rank of these productions which dishonour the censorship, the comedy of Figaro, a scandalous farce, wherein, under the appearance of defending morality, it is turned into ridicule; and wherein great truths are disparaged by the contemptible dialogist who presents them; wherein the end seems to have been to parody the greatest writers of the age, in giving their language to a rascally valet, and to encourage oppression, in bringing the people to laugh at their degradation, and to applaud themselves for this mad laughter: finally, in giving, by culpable imposture, to the whole nation, that character of negligence and levity which belongs only to her capital.

when they would excite a happy fermentation, and direct it properly, in giving true principles.

Because they fall but successively into the hands of well-informed men, who are but few in number, in the search of new truths.

Because the Journalists, who ought to render them a public homage, are obliged, through fear, to keep silence.

Because the general mass, abandoned to the torrent of frivolous literature, loses the pleasure of meditation, and with it the love of profound truths.

Finally, because truth is by this fatal concurrence of circumstances never sown in a favourable soil, nor in a proper manner; that it is often stifled in its birth; and if it survives all adverse manœuvres, it gathers strength but slowly, and with difficulty; consequently its effects are too circumscribed for instruction to become popular and national.

Let government remove all these obstacles: let it have the courage, or rather the sound policy, to render to the press its liberty; and good works, such as are really useful, will have more success; from which there will result much benefit.

Does it wish for an example? I will quote one, which is recent and well known: the law-suit of the monopolizing merchants against the colonists of the sugar islands. Would not the last have, according to custom, been crushed, if the dispute had been carried on in obscurity? They had the liberty of speech, of writing, and of printing; the public voice was raised in their favour, truth was triumphant; and the wise minister, who had permitted a public discussion, that he might gain information, pronounced for humanity in pronouncing in their favour.

Let us hope that this example will be followed; that government will more and more perceive the immense advantages which result from the liberty of the

the press. There is one which, above all others, ought to induce it to accelerate this liberty, because it nearly regards the interest of the present moment: this liberty is a powerful means to establish, fortify, and maintain public credit, which is become, more than ever, necessary to great nations, since they have stood in need of loans. As long as the attempts of personal interest are feared by the obscurity which covers them, public credit is never firmly established, nor does it rise to its true height. It is no longer calculated upon the intrinsic strength of its resources, but upon the probability, upon the fear of the disorder, which may either divert them from their real employ, or render them sterile. The liberty of the press keeps personal interest too much in awe not to fetter its measures; and then public credit supports itself if it be established, is formed if it be still to be constituted, and fortifies itself if it has been weakened by error.

Full of these ideas, as well as the love of my country, and surmounting the obstacles to the liberty of printing, I have undertaken to throw some light upon our commercial affinities with the United States. This object is of the greatest importance; the question is, to develop the immense advantages which France may reap from the revolution which she has so powerfully favoured, and to indicate the means of extending and consolidating them.

It appears to me that all the importance of this revolution has not been perceived; that it has not been sufficiently considered by men of understanding. Let it, therefore, be permitted me to consider it at present.

I will not go into a detail of the advantages which the United States must reap from the revolution, which assures them liberty. I will not speak of that regeneration of the physical and moral man, which must be an infallible consequence of their constitutions;

tions; of that perfection to which free America, left to its energy, without other bounds but its own faculties, must one day carry the arts and sciences. America enjoys already the right of free debate, and it cannot be too often repeated, that without this debate, perfection is but a mere chimera. In truth, almost every thing is yet to be done in the United States, but almost every thing is there understood: the general good is the common end of every individual,—this end cherished, implanted, so to speak, by the constitution in every heart. With this end, this intelligence, and this liberty, the greatest miracles must be performed.

I will not speak of the advantages which all America must one day reap from this revolution; nor of the impossibility that absurd despotism should reign for a long time in the neighbourhood of liberty.—I will confine myself to the examination of what advantages Europe, and France in particular, may draw from this change. There are two which are particularly striking: the first, and greatest of the revolution, at least in the eyes of philosophy, is that of its salutary influence on human knowledge, and on the reform of local prejudices; for this war has occasioned discussions important to public happiness,—the discussion of the social compact,—of civil liberty,—of the means which can render a people independent, of the circumstances which give sanction to its insurrection, and make it legal,—and which give this people a place among the powers of the earth.

What good has not resulted from the repeated description of the English constitution, and of its effects? What good has not resulted from the codes of Massachusetts and New-York, published and spread every where? And what benefits will they still produce? They will not be wholly taken for a model; but despotism will pay a greater respect,
either

either from necessity or reason, to the rights of men, which are so well known and established. Enlightened by this revolution, the governments of Europe will be insensibly obliged to reform their abuses, and to diminish their burdens, in the just apprehension that their subjects, tired of bearing the weight, will take refuge in the asylum offered to them by the United States.

This revolution, favourable to the people, which is preparing in the cabinets of Europe, will be undoubtedly accelerated, by that which its commerce will experience, and which we owe to the enfranchisement of America. The war which procured it to her, has made known the influence of commerce on power, the necessity of public credit, and consequently of public virtue, without which it cannot long subsist:—What raised the English to that height of power, from whence, in spite of the faults of their Ministers, Generals, and Negotiators, they braved, for so many years, the force of the most powerful nations? Their commerce, and their credit; which, loaded as they were with an enormous debt, put them in a state to use all the efforts which nations, the most rich by their soil and population, could not have done in a like case.

These are the advantages which France, the world, and humanity, owe to the American Revolution; and when we consider them, and add those we are obliged to let remain in obscurity, we are far from regretting the expences they occasioned us.

Were any thing to be regretted, ought not it to vanish at the appearance of the new and immense commerce which this revolution opens to the French? This is the most important point at present for us,—that on which we have the least information, which consequently makes it more necessary to gain all we can upon the subject; and such is the object of this work.

In what more favourable moment could it appear, when every nation is in a ferment to extend its commerce, seeks new information and sure principles? The mind is incessantly recalled in this book to the *nature of things*, the first principle of commerce.—At a time when people, which an ancient rivalry, an antipathy, so falsely and unhappily called *natural*, kept at a distance one from the other; are inclined to approach each other, and to extinguished in the connexions of commerce the fire of discord; this work shews that these rivalities must be effaced by the immensity of the career which is opened to all.—At a time when all the parts of universal policy are enlightened by the flambeau of philosophy, even in governments which have hitherto professed to be afraid of it, the author of this work has let slip no opportunity of attacking false notions and abuses of every kind.

Never was there a moment more favourable for publishing useful truths. Every nation does not only do homage to commerce, as to the vivifying spirit of society; but they employ, in the examination of all these connexions and affinities, that logic of facts, whose use characterizes the end of the present century,—that art truly philosophical, of considering objects in their nature, and in their necessary consequences:—Never had well informed men more contempt for those chimerical systems solely founded upon the fancies of pride, upon the little conceptions of vanity, and upon the presumption of the false political science, which has too long balanced the destiny of States. Never were so many men seen united by the same desire of an universal peace, and by the conviction of the misfortune and inutility of hateful rivalities. At length it appears, that men perceive that the field of industry is infinite; that it is open to every state, whatever may be its absolute or relative positions; that all states may
thrive

thrive in it, provided that in each of them the support of individual liberty, and the preservation of property, be the principal end of legation.

This work still concurs with the patriotic views which the sovereign of France manifests at present: he meditates important reformations. He directs them towards the happiness of the people; and consults the most respectable members of this people, whom he wishes to render happy, upon the means of insuring the success of his good intentions. Therefore, could there be a more propitious moment to offer to the present arbitrators of the national prosperity, a work written with deliberation, on the means of establishing a new commerce with a new people, who unites to an extensive soil, and proper to nourish an immense population, laws which are the most favourable to its rapid increase?

At first I had alone undertaken this work, depending on my own strength and laborious researches: I had collected all the facts,—all the books,—all the proofs which could be certain guides to my steps; but I soon perceived the impossibility of raising upon objects of commerce a solid and useful theory, if it were not directed by the skill which practice only can give, and possessed by a man whose judgment had been long exercised by reflection, and whose decided love of truth and the public welfare had accustomed to generalize his ideas. I found this man, this co-operator, of whose assistance I stood in need, in a republican; to whom I am united by a similarity of ideas, as well as by the most tender attachment. I have permission to name him,—he consents to it: I have conquered his modesty by the consideration of his interest, and of the law which the particular circumstances of his situation imposes on him: I have persuaded him, that the best means of destroying calumny was to make known his principles and opinions on public matters.

It

It is M. Claviere, a Genevese, exiled without any form from his country, by the military aristocracy; which has substituted its illegal and destructive regimen to the reasonable and legitimate influence of a people, distinguished by their natural good understanding, their knowledge, and their more simple manners. What was his crime? That of having defended the rights of these people, with a firmness and ability, which the implacable hatred of his enemies attest! This part does too much honour to my friend, not to confine myself to describe him in this character, the only one which has ever been productive of public good.

M. Claviere has, during his abode in France, given proofs of his knowledge in the philosophical and political part of commerce. It is to his abode among us that the public is indebted for some useful works on these abstract matters; works, as remarkable for their solidity of principle and truth of discussion, as for the clearness and precision of ideas; works, whose success proves that minds may be led to the contemplation of these matters, by substituting an exact and clear analysis to the metaphysical and obscure jargon which restrained them from it.

Finally, the present work will prove at once the extent of his knowledge, and that of the sincere philanthropy which animates him, even for the good of a country, where a man less generous would see nothing, perhaps, but the origin and cause of his misfortunes. Oh! how happy am I, to have it in my power to defend my friend against cowardly calumniators, in putting him under the safeguard of his own talents and virtues! And is it not a sacred duty for me, as the calumny is public, to publish the part he has taken in this work, wherein it is impossible not to discover the honest man, in the man enlightened? the friend of mankind, in the propagation of the wisest maxims? In the thinking philosopher,

losopher, accustomed to a severe logic, to pursue the interests of public good, whenever the light of truth can clear up some of its aspects? This is not a vague eulogium; people will be convinced of it in reading the two chapters which concern the principles of commerce; a great number of notes in which he has had a part, and especially the article of tobacco, which is entirely his own. In general, he will be known in those new considerations which the commercial man of reflection only can suggest to the philosophical politician.

The same motive has guided us both in the composition and publication of this work. It was the desire of being useful to France, to Free America, to Humanity; for nothing which passes in the United States, neither ought to, nor can in future, be indifferent to humanity. America has revenged it by her revolution: she ought to enlighten it by her legislation, and become a perpetual lesson to all governments, as a consolation to individuals.

It remains to me now to speak of the sources to which we have had recourse, in the order of this work, &c. &c.

We have joined the information of intelligent persons, whose abode in America has given them an opportunity of gaining information; to that with which the public papers, the acts of Congress, of different legislatures, and the different works published in the United States, have furnished us. Therefore credit may be given to all the facts which we advance.

In associating our ideas, we have striven to give them an uniformity: we have, above every thing, endeavoured to express them with that clearness which is so difficult to introduce into matters of commerce and finance. The poverty of our language, and the singularity of new circumstances which we had to describe, has sometimes led us to what is called

neology. We must create what we have not, and of which we stand in need, without giving ourselves any trouble about those grammarians, but triflingly philosophical, whom Cicero describes thus in his time: *Controversies about words torment these little Greeks, more desirous of contention than of truth.**

We have carefully avoided certain words much used in vulgar politics, and which give and perpetuate false ideas and deceitful systems. Such are these expressions; *powers fill the first character, have the first rank, the balance of trade, the political balance of Europe, &c.* These words, which stir up hatred and jealousy, are only proper to feed petulant ambition, and, if I may use the expression, to put the *policy of disturbance* in the place of that happiness. Ministers, wearied of these words and ideas, will attach a greater price to real glory,—that of making the people happy.

Many notes will be found in this work; we thought it necessary to give this form to all the ideas, which, thrown into the text, might have obscured the principal one.

A note relaxes the mind, in suspending the chain of the principal thoughts; it excites curiosity, in announcing a new point of view; it forces the reader to a certain degree of attention, in obliging him to attach the note to the text, to reap any advantage from his reading.

We have in these notes indicated, as often as it has been possible, the ideas of reform which may be useful to France. We have frequently quoted the English nation and government. Let not our readers be surprised at it. It is this nation which has made most progress in the practice of some good principles of political economy. To what nation in Europe can we better compare France? If a rivalry

* Verbi controversia torquet Græculos homines contentionis cupidiores quam veritatis.

vality ought to exist between them, is it not in that which is good? Ought not we from that moment to know all the good measures taken in England? Ought people to be displeased with us for mentioning these measures? The example of those who have already quoted England has encouraged us. They have naturalized in France, happy institutions, imitated from her rival.

If our criticism appears sometimes roughly expressed, our readers will be so good as to consider, that friends to public welfare can but with difficulty refrain from being moved by the aspect of certain abuses, and from suffering the sentiment of indignation which it excites in them to break forth.

Notwithstanding the numerous precautions we have taken to come at truth; notwithstanding the extreme attention we have given to this work, errors will undoubtedly be found in some of the statements, and perhaps in the reasonings. Whether they be publicly discussed, or that we are privately informed of them, we shall see these refutations with pleasure; we shall joyfully receive these observations, and if they be well founded, we shall be eager to retract. This is but a simple essay on an important subject. It may become a good work by the aid of a concurrence of lights.

PARIS, April 1, 1787.

THE
COMMERCE, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Of External Commerce; the circumstances which lead to it, and the Means of assuring it to a Nation.

COMMERCE signifies an exchange of productions, either by barter, or by representative signs of their value.

External commerce is that carried on between two or more nations. It supposes in them mutual wants, and a surplus of productions correspondent thereto.

Nations, which nature or the force of things invites to a commercial intercourse, are those which have that correspondence of wants, and surplus of productions.

This familiarity enables them to trade together, directly or indirectly; a direct commerce is that which exists between two nations, without the intervention of a third.

Commerce is indirect when one nation trades with another by way of a third. This is the case of states which have no sea-ports, and yet wish to exchange their productions for those of the Indies.

That nation, which having it in its power to carry on a direct commerce with another, yet makes use of an intermediate one, is necessarily obliged to di-

vide its profits. However, this disadvantage may sometimes be compensated by other considerations.

Such, for instance, is the case of a nation which, in want of husbandmen and manufacturers, prefers that strangers should themselves come in search of its superfluities, and bring in exchange those of others: its want of population imposes this law, and whilst these considerations exist, it is both morally and physically better that its inhabitants should be employed in cultivation, than become carriers of their own national productions, or of those of others.

It is impossible that nations which already have communications with each other, should be ignorant of their mutual productions. Hence arises the desire of acquiring them in those where they do not exist. Hence direct or indirect commerce, which is consequently the inevitable result of the state of things.

From the same principle, it is the interest of each nation to render its exterior commerce direct as soon as possible, without doing an injury to its interior trade.

Direct importations, not being subject to the expences and commissions of agents, procure things at a cheaper rate.

A moderate price is the surest means of obtaining an exterior commerce, the best reason for preference, and the guarantee of its continuation.*

The

* It is vulgarly said that a thing is dear when once it is above the accustomed price; and it is esteemed cheap the moment that price is diminished.

By this it seems that the dearness of a thing is the comparison of its stated, with its usual price. The last is determined by five principal circumstances. 1st. The cost of the raw material. 2d. That of the workmanship. 3d. The want the consumer has of the thing. 4th. The means he has of paying for it. 5th. The proportion of its quantity with the demand there is for it. These circumstances increase or diminish the profit of the seller; sometimes indeed they may prevent him from gaining at all. Circumstances which influence the most are scarcity

The country which can produce and sell a thing at the cheapest rate, is that which unites the favourable advantages of that production, whether it be with respect to its quality, manufacture, or its low rate of carriage.

The advantages which render commodities and raw materials cheap, are a fertile soil, easy of cultivation, climate favourable to the production, a government which encourages industry, and facilitates carriage by the construction of public roads and navigable canals; finally, a population not too numerous relative to the extent of country which offers itself to be cultivated.*

The same circumstances are still more favourable to the manufacture of things common, simple, or little charged with fashion, if the raw material be a natural production of the country, in plenty, and easy to be worked up; because these manufactures require but few hands, or are carried on at that leisure

and abundance, expressions by which the proportion between the want and the quantity of productions are designated.

If there be a surplus of them, they are naturally sold at a low price. Whence it appears, that nations having great quantities of raw materials, various manufactures and a numerous population, are more particularly invited to an exterior and continued commerce, because they have it in their power to carry it on upon better terms.

An article may be sold at a low price, and enrich him who furnishes it; as it may be sold dear, and ruin the seller. This depends upon the relation there is between its value and the means of its productions. Every nation disposed to exterior commerce, in whatsoever article it may be, ought therefore to consider two things, the price at which it can afford such an article, and that at which it is sold by rival nations: if it cannot equal the last, it ought to abandon that part of its trade.

* The situation of the United States proves the last assertion, which may at first sight appear paradoxical; things are cheap there, because population is not in proportion to the extent of lands to be cultivated. In a good soil, a man may, by his labour, easily supply the consumption of ten men, or even more. These ten men may therefore be employed for exterior consumption.

sure which agriculture affords. Nothing can equal the cheapness of this workmanship, and in general no industry is more lucrative, or better supported on easy terms, than that which is employed in the intervals of repose from cultivation: in that case cheapness is neither the product nor the sign of misery in the manufacturer; it is, on the contrary, the proof and consequence of his easy circumstances.*

The most necessary conditions for manufacturing, at a cheap rate, articles complicated, or extremely fine and perfect, or which require the union of several kinds of workmanship, are a constant and assiduous application, and a numerous population; one half of which must be at a distance from the labours of the field, and applied to manufacture alone.

These manufactures ought, according to natural order, to be the productions of an excess of population only, which cannot give its industry to agriculture or simple manufactures; but in general they are the result of the gathering together of the poor and wretched in great cities.†

These

* Switzerland, and certain parts of Germany, offer a striking example of this fact. Merchandise is fabricated there, at a lower rate than in any other country of Europe, by means of this employment of leisure hours, and is capable of being transported to distant countries, without losing its original advantage; even across great states, where nature, left to her own energy, would be still more favourable to the same manufactures.

† These manufactures are crowded with individuals, who having no property, or hope of constant employ in the country, or who are induced by the allurements of gain and luxury, run into cities, and soon become obliged to sell their industry at a mean price, proportioned to the number of those who are in want of employ. When cheapness of workmanship comes from this afflicting concurrence of the want of money in men without employ, it is not a sign of prosperity. On the contrary, it is the result and proof of a bad social organization, of too unequal a division of property, and consequently of an unjust distribution of necessary employments, which compels industry to change, from the fabrication of what is necessary and useful, to that which is fantastic, forced, and pernicious. Hence it follows,

These manufactures cannot furnish their productions but with difficulty and uncertainty for exterior commerce, when they are established and supported merely by forced means, such as prohibitions, exclusive privileges, &c. by which natural obstacles, not to be destroyed, are pretended to be combated. Countries exempt from them prevail in the end, and obtain a preference.

It sometimes happens, that obstacles caused to manufactures by dearness of provisions, burthensome imposts, distance from the raw material, and unskilfulness, or small number of hands, are surmounted by ingenuity, or the use of machines; which make the work of one man equal to that of many, and render a manufacture capable of supporting the commerce of populous countries, where such manœuvres and machines are not made use of, or known.

But these means are precarious, and sooner or later give way to a more happy situation, where climate, soil, and government especially, concur in favouring, without effort, all the activity and industry of which men are susceptible.*

Thus,

that wretchedness in any country is in proportion to this cheapness of workmanship.

It is equally evident from these reasonings, that new and well constituted states ought not to desire manufactures produced by things so badly arranged: they ought not to be anxious about them till the rate of population and excess of useful labour naturally incline industry to apply itself to improve and carry them on. These reasonings against low priced workmanship do not hinder us from agreeing, that there is a real advantage in the means of exterior commerce; and that in the actual state of things manufacturing and commercial nations may perhaps be obliged to seek for it, although it does not compensate the interior evil by which it is produced.

* FAVOURING, in political economy, signifies, for the most part, not to shackle industry with too many regulations; however favourable certain of these may be, they restrain it in some respect or other. Trade is never better encouraged than when left to itself.

Thus, in the final analysis, the power of furnishing at a low price belongs incontestably to countries so favoured, and they will obtain in all markets a sure preference to those to which nature has been less kind, let their industry be ever so great, because the same industry may always be added to natural advantages.

Exterior commerce, more than any other, is intimidated by shackles, customs, visits, chicaneries, and processes; by the manner of deciding them, and the solicitations and delays they bring on.

The state which would favour such a commerce should, in the first place, destroy all these obstacles. It is more to its interest so to do, as from exterior commerce results an augmentation of the national revenue.

All things equal, relative to the price of merchandise, and to the facilities with which direct exterior commerce can be carried on, it is more readily established between two nations which have a similarity of political and religious principles,† manners, customs, and especially of language: these decisive means of connexion cannot be combated but by evident advantages from which there results less expence and more profit. Commercial people generally place profit at the head of every thing.

Nations not having these affinities between them, ought, in order to compensate for their deficiency, to give great encouragements, and tolerate to the utmost

† Religious considerations had formerly a considerable influence on civilized men, and on commerce. The Catholic fled from the Protestant, the Puritan suspected the Quaker. A reciprocal hatred reigned between the sects. To-day, mankind being more enlightened, all sects connected by commerce, and experience having shewn that probity has almost always been independent of religion, it is no more required to know whether a man goes to the temple, or to confession—It is asked if he fulfils his engagements with honour. Yet this relation must still be counted among commercial connexions.

utmost degree the religious and political opinions of strangers, as well as their manners and customs.

To obtain the preference in exterior commerce, neither treaties, regulations, nor force must be depended upon. Force has but a momentary effect. It destroys even that which it means to protect. Treaties and regulations are useless if the interests of two nations do not invite them to a mutual intercourse. They are ineffectual if that attraction does not exist. Treaties, regulations, force, all yield to the impulse or nature of things.*

This force of things in commerce is but the result of the circumstances in which two nations are which attract one towards the other, and oblige them to enter into an alliance, rather than with any other nation. These terminate in their mutual interest: it is therefore necessary, in order to create a perpetual commerce between two countries, to give each of them a preponderating interest so to do.

CHAPTER

* **FORCE OF THINGS.** The political law which governs all, in politics as in physics. There is a general force whose action is manifest, which, in spite of wars, treaties, and the manoeuvres of cabinets, governs all events, and carries away men and nations in its course. It is this force of things which overturned the Roman empire, when it stood upon a basis disproportioned to its mass; which in the 14th century took from the English one half of France, and in the 18th, has taken from them half of the new world—which delivered Holland from the yoke of Spain, and Sweden from that of Denmark. It is this force which destroyed the projects of such conquerors as Charlemagne, Zengis, and Nadir. They ran from place to place; they destroyed mankind to build empires. These empires died with them. This force acts upon commerce as upon revolutions. It is that which, by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, bereaved the Venetians of their trade to the Indies, and made it pass over successively to the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and the French. Finally, it is the force of things which will decide the great question of the commerce of America.

CHAPTER II.

Of External Commerce, considered in its Means of Exchange, and its Balance.

WE are deceived in believing that commerce cannot be established between two nations without gold or silver to balance their accounts. It will be interesting to enter into some detail on this head, on account of the deficiency of coin in the United States, and the necessity of reducing themselves to the commerce of exchange, being the two principal objections ignorantly brought against a trade with them.*

It has been frequently asserted that the balance will be against them; that they can only offer an exchange in merchandise. It is therefore necessary to prove that this great word, balance, is insignificant; that
a great

* The scarcity of money in the United States of America has been greatly exaggerated in France. It must be scarce in all new states, where nothing shackles industry, where so many things are to be created, and where, in every quarter, there are such quantities of lands to be cleared. In order that money should be plenty in this state of creation, mines would be necessary; and at the same time a want of hands, and industry clogged with impediments, circumstances much more unfavourable to foreign commerce than the scarcity of money in an active and industrious country. One fact seems to prove to us, that in independent America money is found in the most desirable proportion to population, at least by taking Europe for the term of comparison. Contracts esteemed good, and of which the interest is regularly paid, are sold there at the rate of six per cent. per annum. Yet the clearing of lands must produce a much greater benefit; why then is not all the money swallowed up? why remains there enough of it to fulfil these contracts, which produce no more than five or six per cent? Is it not because money is not so scarce there as people in France imagine, where the actual state of the Americans is confounded with the distress in which they were when they combated for their liberty?

a great commerce may be carried on without money, and that one of exchange is the most advantageous of any.

When a nation pays with money the whole, or the balance of its importations, it is said the balance of trade is against it, by which a disadvantageous idea of its position is meant to be given. This is a prejudice easy to be overturned, although entertained by men celebrated for their knowledge.

In effect, whence comes to this country the gold it pays? It is either from its mines, and in that case it pays with one of its own productions; or it owes it to artificers who exercise their functions in a foreign country, and even then it pays with a production which originates within its dominions. As long as a nation pays another, directly or indirectly, with its own productions, its position cannot be disadvantageous. Therefore, the unfavourable word balance, thus attached to the balance of an account paid in money, offers no exact and nice idea of the favourable or unfavourable state of a nation.

Gold is also a merchandise; and it may be convenient to one nation, according to its relations or connexions with another, to pay with money, without its having, for that reason, an unfavourable balance against it.

There is but one case wherein the balance against a nation can be declared; it is that when having exhausted its money and treasures, it remains debtor to another nation. But things could not remain long in this state; so wretched a foil, unequal to the consumption and exchange of its inhabitants, would soon be abandoned; this, however, cannot happen. Importation presently becomes in proportion to exportation; an equilibrium is established, and the pretended unfavourable balance has not duration enough to give a right of supposing even its existence.

There is as little truth and justice in saying a na-

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tion has the balance of trade in its favour, when it receives in money balances due to it upon the amount of its exportations. This balance, existing for a certain time, would heap up specie in the country, and at length render it very miserable. This has never been the case; yet it would have happened if this system had the least foundation.

The circulation of money depends on too many causes, to deduce from its abundance a certain sign of a favourable commercial balance; a thousand combinations and events, which have no relation to that balance, draw money from abroad or send it there; and in general, continued and various motions of commerce, the tables of exportation and importation, according to which the sign of a favourable or unfavourable balance is regulated, are too uncertain and defective for the purpose, as well as for forming a judgment of the quantities of coin or riches of a nation.*

Let

* I will give a striking example of the deficiency of these calculations, of the estimation of a balance of trade, and of the quantity of money. This example will prove that political calculators neglect, or are ignorant of foreign events which overturn their calculations.

M. Neckar wished to inform himself (Chap. IX. Vol. 3d, of his *Treatise on the Administration of Finance*) what was the sum brought to and preserved in Europe from 1763 to 1777. He estimates it at one thousand eight hundred and fifty millions of livres, according to the register of Lisbon and Cadiz, comprehending that even which entered by contraband, and he values at three hundred millions of livres that which went out of Europe during the same interval.

It will only be necessary to quote two or three authenticated facts, to prove the insufficiency of this calculation founded upon the registers of Custom-houses.

In stating the sum of money entered into Europe, it does not appear that M. Neckar takes account of the gold and silver, which the conquest and possession of Bengal by the English, and their establishments in the East-Indies, have caused to pass into this quarter of the world. But according to the calculation of the secret committee, appointed by the Parlia-

Let the tables for comparing the exportation and importation of raw materials, and of manufactured articles, be increased to what they may; let the great-

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est

ment of England, to examine the state of English possessions in India, the sums drawn from Bengal from 1757 to 1771, amount to 751,500,000 livres.(a) To what will it amount, if there be added to it those drawn from the Carnatic and from Oude, of which Nabobs have the shadow only of the property, from the revenue of the Northern Circars, from the theft committed on the Emperor of Mogul, from 1771 to the present day, of his twenty-six millions, from the perpetual increase of territories and revenues, from the sale made in 1773 of the Rohillas to the Nabob of Oude, which produced to the English upwards of fifty millions?(b)

Finally, what will be the amount, if there be added to it the enormous sums exported from the Indies by individuals, who have there enriched themselves? The fortune of Lord Clive was beyond calculation; that of Mr. Hastings, against whom a prosecution is now carrying on, is calculated at thirty or forty millions. Another Governor has, according to several well-founded reports, recently paid upwards of two millions of livres to silence his accusers. It is true that a part of these immense riches have been employed to defray the expences incurred by the English in guarding their possessions in India; that a more considerable one has been sent into Europe under the form of merchandize; but it cannot be denied that a third part has been brought in gold and silver to our continent. What is the amount of it? This is impossible to state. But whatever it may be, it renders the calculation of Mr. Neckar doubtful.—Let the inexhaustible riches of the Indies be judged of by one fact, and consequently the immense source from which the Europeans have drawn them, and by another consequence, the money which must have come into Europe. Nadir Schah, who conquered Delly in 1740, took from India about forty millions sterling.(c) This money was circulated in Persia, and as that unhappy state

(a) The detail of this calculation is given in *The Description of the Indies*, Vol. I. page 249. It is necessary to take notice here of an error crept into that work, which is, that the sum total is there given in pounds sterling, instead of livres tournois.

(b) See Mackintosh's *Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol. I. page 340.

(c) See Mackintosh's *Voyages*, Vol. I. page 341.

est care and fidelity be employed to render them perfect, the result will never be more certain or decisive: for as long as prohibitory laws, which are always accompanied by illicit commerce, shall exist, it will be impossible to know and state exactly what comes in and goes out;* and if there be a country where no such laws exist,† are exact registers of the

is torn by despotism and continual wars, (d) produces but little, manufactures nothing, and is consequently debtor to exterior commerce, which comes almost entirely into Europe, it follows that two-thirds of the sums stolen from India by the freebooter Nadir, have passed over to the same quarter. These events, unnoticed by political calculators, have certainly had great and universal influence upon the fluctuation and circulation of money. That which makes it supposed that no metals come from India, is the opinion that their importation is disadvantageous. But have the freebooters who have pillaged that country for the last thirty years calculated this disadvantage? They strive to secure their thefts, and do not speculate like merchants: bulky merchandize would betray them.

With respect to the stated sums of money which pass from Europe or India, there is the same defect in the calculations of Mr. Neckar. He takes no notice of the events which obliged the English to remit considerable sums to India: for instance, the two wars against the Marattas were prodigiously expensive, that against Hyder Ally in 1769 was not less so. A single conflagration at Calcutta cost nearly twenty-four millions of livres, which it was necessary to replace: yet these sums are far from balancing those which are exported from India.

(d) See Mr. Capper's Voyage, at the end of that of Mackintosh, Vol. II. page 454.

* This is a strong objection made by the adversaries of Lord Sheffield, to which his Lordship has not satisfactorily replied.

Nothing can be more imposing than the tables of importation and exportation, and of the balance of trade in Great-Britain, published by Sir Charles Whitworth. Yet see with what facility the Count de Mirabeau reduces to twenty millions of livres tournois, the ninety millions which Sir Charles Whitworth estimates to be the annual balance of English commerce; and trust after this to custom-house calculations.—See *Considerations on the Order of Cincinnatus*, in this volume.

† Such a country does exist. There are many States among the new Republics of America, which register vessels as they

the exports and imports to be found in it? And if they were, would it not be a constraint which the private interests of merchants would frequently oblige them to avoid?

Moreover, does it appear that, in these general balances, which are supposed to be paid in money, notice is taken of the operation of bankers, foreign government, and those who go abroad, in exporting the public specie.* Knowledge is deceitful which is acquired from such consequences.

But how appreciate—how estimate the increase of the riches and commerce of a nation?—By its population. If this sensibly augments, if ease and the conveniencies of life become more general, if the causes of indigence in an increasing people be seen to diminish, or are confined to inability to work, occasioned by accidental illnesses; it is evident, that the revenues of that nation exceed its expences, and that the balance of trade is in its favour; for if the value of its exportation were inferior to that of its

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importation,

enter, because duties are paid on importations; but there are none on exportation.

* It is very probable there are a number of particular causes which insensibly diminish the quantity of coin in those nations which have the balance of trade constantly in their favour. Were no such causes to exist, the consequence would be that such nations would be obliged to bury their gold and silver in the earth, to prevent its falling into disuse; yet neither of these cases happen. Therefore money necessarily passes from such countries to others.

M. Casaux has proved this to be true, with respect to England, in his *Considerations on the Mechanism of Society*. He there explains, that if the calculations of Sir Charles Whitworth be true, England ought to possess at this moment about four hundred thousand millions of livres in gold and silver, as the sole balance of her commerce from 1700 to 1775. Yet it is certain that she is far from having that enormous sum. She has not even a sum in proportion to her population and contingencies. She supplies that deficiency by an immense circulation of her bank-paper.

importation, a considerable debt and impoverishment would soon be the consequences: and impoverishment falls immediately upon population. It is therefore by rational and well composed tables upon this subject only, that a minister of sound judgment, profound and extended in his plans, will be prevailed upon to govern himself. It is by them he will judge of the increase and advantages of exterior commerce, as well as of national riches.

He will be very cautious of decorating with this title the amassing of gold and silver, and equally so of making it the token of riches, or of judging of their extent by the quantity of those metals. All such ideas are sordid, dangerous, and false; sordid, because they attach to this sign the representation of productions, and consequently the extension of commerce; dangerous, because they accustom men to look upon gold as real riches, to neglect the thing for its shadow,* and make them strangers to their country;

* Could gold and silver be preserved from adulteration and the attempts of tyranny and ignorance, they would have a much better title to be considered as real riches. Gold being an universal agent, he who possesses it may emigrate to wherever he pleases, and take his gold with him. This metal is therefore every thing with nations unhappy enough to make arbitrary exceptions to general maxims, upon which public credit is founded. But how dearly do they pay for their ignorance of the advantages of public credit! How dearly do governments themselves pay for their errors and outrages! All their measures are forced—nature is liberal in vain; incessantly employed in repairing evils which continually present themselves, she has not time enough allowed her to add to our happiness. When it was said that money had no particular country, governments were emphatically told, that it was necessary to do without great quantities of it: it will never be rejected till the inestimable advantages resulting from a respect for public credit shall be properly known. The less individuals love and heap up money, the richer, more enlightened, and better governed will a nation be. To be attached to money, to hoard it up, is a sign of an alarming crisis, of a deficiency of judgment and faith in administration; from whence comes the proof of what has been said

country; false, because that display of figures announces the quantity only of money which continually disappears; and which, when carried to a certain degree, is of no farther consideration.*

Enquiries on the quantity of coin are like those on the balance of trade. To establish both one and the other with some degree of certainty, it is necessary to assemble notions and details, of which the elementary principles vanish, or incessantly vary.†

The

in the text, that 'a writer who extols gold as a sign of riches, and recommends it to his fellow citizens, is deceived, or has a bad idea of their situation.' In the last case he would do much better, if instead of preaching this pernicious doctrine, he encouraged government to give an immoveable stability to national credit.

* It has not yet been remarked, that thousands of millions is a vague expression, and does not furnish a complete idea. The imagination cannot exactly conceive for such a sum an employ which would serve as the measure of its power and effect. It is known what could be done with twenty or an hundred millions of men, but it is not known what could be effected with an hundred thousand millions of crowns; yet they are heaped upon paper to give an idea of power.

† In general, the mass of gold or silver is divided into three principal parts.—The first under the form of money, serves for daily and unavoidable expences. Each individual, as soon as he is charged with the support of himself and family, must have at least some pieces of money for daily exigencies, and the payment of imposts. To this must be added that sum which is reserved for casualties.—This custom is more or less observed in all countries, in proportion to the probability of disastrous events. It is impossible to calculate this first part.—It is however evident, that it ought to be in proportion to the population, and to increase with it; and that a decrease of population would soon take place, were many individuals totally deprived of a pecuniary contingency sufficient to procure them such necessaries as cannot be dispensed with, and which they neither make nor receive themselves. It appears also, that this part of the coin remains in the country by reason of its continued application in little sums to daily wants, and of the absolute stagnation of that which is laid up in reserve.

The second part is destined, under the same form, to the great operations of commerce. It is equally impossible to fix

The proceedings in the administration of finances are more useful and certain; by laying aside the pomp of false riches, and by considering gold and silver in a point of view relative to their particular properties. They supply our wants as means of exchange only; they are notes to the bearer, which having every where the same value, are every where negotiable. Thus they are ambulatory; they pass, repass, are accumulated or dispersed like the waves of the sea, continually agitated by successive winds blowing

its quantity, on account of an infinity of combinations which continually change and cause these metals to pass from one country to another. Daily charges, customs, &c. retain a part; but these objects belong equally to our first division.

The third part contains uncoined gold and silver, under whatever form they may have: it is, like the second, subject to numbers of continual variations, which leave no satisfactory means of determining its quantity.

To pretend to ascertain the quantity in the mass, by payments of uncertain commercial balances, and by the addition of specie produced from mints since a new coinage has taken place, is not a more certain means, because it would be equally necessary to observe the continual action of commerce upon these metals, under all their forms, and of the combinations it produces, which successively arise from one another. In thus estimating money it is forgotten, that it is an universal agent, which, by that character alone, must necessarily change its situation perpetually; since commerce has produced an affinity among men, by wants, which they have created to themselves, of their reciprocal productions. It is equally unobserved, that different circumstances reduce gold to the state of an ingot; that consequently the same piece may pass several times under the die in the course of a certain number of years. This is a reflection which M. Neckar seems not to have made when he stated the money existing in France at so considerable a sum. It will be known when the recoinage of the old Louis is finished, what we ought to think of his calculations. But the sum is far short of 957 millions, as estimated by that minister. It is more than probable, that it will never amount to more than two thirds of it.

At this moment, fourteen months after the arrest for a new coinage, it amounts to no more than 550 millions, and every thing indicates a rapid decline.

blowing from every point of the compass. To undertake to make them stationary, would be striving to change their nature, to deprive them of that property from which they derive their value: this ridiculous enterprise is, notwithstanding, a consequence of the system which causes them to be looked upon as real treasures. Their disappearance is dreaded, and yet their circulation is clogged, and the mind loses sight of the use of the most simple and universal means of creating real riches, without which metals would be useless, and consequently of no value.

On the contrary, disdaining vulgar opinions, and seeing nothing in gold and silver but the means of exchange, but proper agents to facilitate it; the mind, freed from the fear of the want of them *as riches*, conceives the idea of doing without them *as agents*, at least about man's person.* What a vast field is this opened to industry! These metals are in that case reserved for the best uses to which nations who obtain them

* It is astonishing, that among so many travellers who have gone over the United States of America, not one of them has given a detail of the manner of exchanging several necessities of life; they are reciprocally furnished in the country with what they are in want of, without the interference of money. The taylor, shoe-maker, &c. exercise their professions in the house of the husbandman who has occasion for their commodities, and who, for the most part, furnishes materials, and pays for the workmanship in provisions, &c.—This kind of exchange extends to many objects; each of these people write down what they receive and give, and at the end of the year they close an account consisting of an infinity of articles, with a very small sum; this could not be effected in Europe, but with a great deal of money. Thus it appears, that an easy means of doing without great sums of money is given to country people by instructing them in writing and arithmetic; that consequently the sovereign who should establish schools for the purpose of teaching this most necessary art and science, would create a considerable means of circulation without the use of coin, and that this expence, which seems to alarm so many governments, is in fact one of the most lucrative speculations which the treasury could make.

them from abroad can put them. They are sent out to seek materials for industry, new commodities, and especially increase the number of citizens; of every species of riches this is the most sure and fruitful. Thus, when gold is reduced to its exact value, that its real use is known, the advantageous purposes to which it is proper, are more justly calculated. It is then perceived that paper credit may have the same properties as gold itself; and to succeed in giving them to it, nothing more is necessary than to preserve the most inviolable respect for the principles which support public confidence; for upon what basis rests the value and general use of money, if it be not upon the certitude that it will be received every where in payment for things which men's wants may require, because of its conventional value? Why should a paper which presents the same conventional value, the same certitude and solidity, be refused in payment? I will add more—A more solid basis than gold and silver have, may be given to paper money: * for we have no guarantee that the value of these metals will not be all at once diminished by the discovery of new and rich mines; we cannot calculate their quantities concealed in the earth, and men incessantly rake up its bowels in search of them. † Therefore in countries where precious metals are scarce, but where lands may be successfully cultivated, banks should be formed, whose operations should chiefly rest

* I say paper money, without attaching to this expression the idea of constraint to receive it as such: this obligation diminishes its value—I would say paper credit, if the word credit did not seem to exclude its principal quality, that of being always susceptible, and in an instant of being converted into money without the least loss.

† Why should not discoveries be made in other countries, like that in the last century by two shepherds in Norway, of the rich mines of Kongsberg, where very considerable masses of silver are found? The King of Denmark has one of 560lb. weight in his cabinet.

rest upon title deeds and productions deposited; in a word, upon such objects only as gold and silver should represent.*

In countries where these metals are already in circulation, but are still foreign productions, easy and certain means should be sought after to render exchanges less dependent on the security or abundance of specie. Paper credit should be naturalized there, because its infallible effect is to double or treble the quantity of current coin, and even to replace it entirely, where, as in England, public confidence has never received a wound. These observations might be more extended if a treatise on the nature of banks and *Caisses d'Escompte* were in question. But this is not my present object; I have considered exterior commerce in its means of exchange only, like metals and paper credit, and in its balance for the purpose of applying these principles to the relations and commerce of France and the United States: and
more

* It is not true that much gold and silver are necessary to establish banks, or create notes which may be thrown into circulation. A proof of the contrary arises from facts continually before our eyes. The multitude of bills of exchange which circulate and cross each other in every direction, have not all of them, for origin and security, a deposit of gold and silver. Neither are they all paid when due with these metals. Commerce produces an abundance of such papers, which falling due on the same day, are discharged by each other without the intervention of specie, especially in cities where public banks are established to facilitate this kind of payment. These are called transfers, and the principal object of *Caisses d'Escomptes* and banks is to facilitate them by the payment of bills fallen due by those which have still some time to run. In fine, these *Caisses d'Escomptes* and banks, are themselves causes and striking proofs of the little difficulty there is in supplying, by confidence, the places of gold and silver. First established by deposits in specie, they soon circulate their notes for sums more considerable than those deposited: and what surety is there for the payment of such notes, if it be not by other bills not due, which the *Caisses* and banks receive in exchange for their own notes payable at sight, to which public confidence gives the same value as to gold and silver.

more especially to clear up some difficulties to the French, who seem to have a bad opinion of this commercial intercourse, on account of the want of money in America, and to encourage the independent Americans, who seem to dread the pretended inconveniencies arising from its deficiency.

I think I have proved:

1st. That the balance of trade is but an insignificant word: that the balance paid in specie is no proof of a disadvantageous commerce on the part of the nation which pays it, nor advantageous to the nation which receives it.*

2d. That the tables of that commercial balance deserve no faith; and that the only method of estimating the increase of trade, is by the increase of population.†

3d. That

* Observe what a respectable author, well versed in the matter, and whom we shall hereafter have occasion to quote, thinks of it.

"These commercial balances, calculated in different states, are pitiful; when I see consequences drawn from ridiculous and labour'd official accounts, MI FANNO DAL RISO CREPARE.

"To consider France and England only, the two principal manufacturing countries, and the most commercial ones in the world, what omissions, negligences, double employs, errors, corruptions, nocturnal expeditions, duties evaded, and contraband trade! The prodigious quantity of wool which is sent from England is certainly not registered, no more than the silks, gold laces, gauzes, blondes, cambrics, brandies, and many other articles which are fraudulently introduced there. The same in France: no account can be taken of the immense quantities of drapery, hosiery, and small hardware, which the English send in exchange." *Voy. en Italie, de M. Roland de la Palatiere, tom. i. p. 352.*

† The errors in these pretended balances must be continually insisted upon: consequences dangerous to the people are frequently drawn from them.

Financiers who pillage the kingdom, say to Princes on presenting them these fallacious calculations; "that things are in a prosperous way; that commerce flourishes, that imposts may be laid on, loans negotiated, &c. These sophisms are seducing: let Princes accustom themselves to judge of public prof-

3d. That it is impossible to judge exactly of the quantity of money existing in a country, and that all calculations on that head are founded upon an uncertain and defective basis, because it is impossible to collect all their elementary principles.

4th. That metals are not real riches.

5th. That considered as agents of exchange, it would be more advantageous to substitute paper credit in interior commerce, and to apply them to uses for which paper is unfit, to wit, all the purposes of exterior commerce. There results from these demonstrations, that commerce may be begun between two nations without the aid of money; that the quantity a nation has of it to exchange for foreign productions is in proportion to its confidential interior establishments, which advantageously supply its place.

In three words, a good foil, paper credit, and a government anxious to support it, are the true means of opening the resources of a nation, of procuring abundance of specie, as well as an extensive exterior commerce.

I have not considered this commerce in its influence upon the manners of the people; such a discussion would here be useless, because, whatever that influence may be, exterior commerce is a forced effect of the respective situations of France and the United States, as will hereafter be made appear. I

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examine

perity by population, and the general ease of the people; let them be eye-witnesses of this, and mistrust a momentary appearance of prosperity, which frequently covers profound misery, and they will not be so often deceived.

- A King of Sardinia paid a visit to a part of Savoy, the nobility of which had been represented to him as being poor and miserable: they came to him elegantly dressed in clothes of ceremony, to make him their court. At this the King expressed his surprise to one of the gentleman, who said to him, 'Sire, nous faisons pour votre Majesté tout ce que nous devons, mais nous devons tout ce que nous faisons.'

examine this matter as a politician, not as a philosopher, and I pray the reader not to forget the distinction.

CHAPTER III.

Application of the foregoing general Principles to the reciprocal Commerce of France and the United States.

That France has every Means of procuring a great Commerce, and those which must assure it to her in the United States; that her Productions are proper for them; and that her particular interior Circumstances oblige her to engage in this Commerce.

THESE truths will not be contested when the fertility of the soil of France shall be considered, her various and particular productions, and the temperature of her climate, which favours those the most simple and necessary.

These advantages constantly assure her workmanship at a lower price than those of nations endowed with the same activity, but which have not the advantages of such favourable circumstances.

Her manufactures are numerous, and her population is considerable in comparison with that of most other nations. Yet these are far from the degree to which they may be extended; for in considering France, room for a more extensive population is soon discovered, and an immensity of means for a great number of manufactures, which only wait for the will of government to be established.

What other nation has more activity? more industry? or unites to so great a degree, all the advantages of civilization, and the matter and means of the most varied and extensive interior and exterior commerce, independent of completion? What other
would

would have been able to resist, for so long a time, the chain of misfortunes, and repeated faults of which she has been the victim? The force of her constitution, rather than her apparent prosperity, ought to be calculated by this resistance. France is not what she might and ought to be. There is no doubt but she will become so if she opens her eyes to her true interests, if, unshackling her interior, she does not neglect her exterior commerce, and particularly that which the United States wish to open with her. The productions of her soil and industry are proper for them. She can export in exchange, from independent America, the raw materials for which she may have occasion. These two countries may therefore carry on a *direct* commerce of *exchange* between them, and so much the more advantageous, as the raw materials, which must constitute it, would cost them more in any other place. These truths will not be doubted when the double catalogue of the respective wants of France and the United States, or of their importation and exportation, shall have been examined.

Intelligent patriots are of opinion, that it cannot be advantageous to France, in her present situation, to engage in the commerce of the United States.— They observe, that her manufactures being inferior to those of the English, she will be worsted in the American markets; they add, that instead of encouraging this commerce, government would perhaps act more wisely by preventing the interior abuses which stop the progress of cultivation and industry.

I am far from denying the necessity there may be of stirring to reform such abuses, and to direct our efforts to culture and the improvement of manufactures; but it is easy to demonstrate, that exterior commerce will in a very short time infallibly bring

on such a reform, and that France in her present state is in the greatest need of this exterior trade.

In effect, an active and industrious nation, whose soil is fertile, ought always to have markets for the sale of its commodities to animate its industry. Its culture and manufactures would languish if the limits of its consumption were perceived. It is even necessary that these markets should be superabundant; that one may succeed the other, in case of unsuspected events, which might cause a momentary change in the ordinary course of things.

What cause has thrown Ireland into so continued a state of languor, although one of those countries the most favoured by nature, and the best situated for exterior commerce, if it is not the deprivation of that commerce? An embarrassing exuberance of productions was feared: the cultivation of them was presently neglected, and this negligence increased waste lands. This island would at length have offered a spectacle of the most deplorable misery, of a complete depopulation, if, by a restitution of the liberty of commerce, an end had not been put to so cruel a discouragement which choaked industry, by making it fear a want of markets for the vent of its productions.

Let our patriots, therefore, cease to look upon foreign commerce as contrary to the reforms which are to revive our interior trade: to encourage the first is not to proscribe the second, because one cannot succeed without the other. But, on the contrary, the seeds of activity are sown in the latter, by extending the boundaries of consumption.

Alas! is not France evidently in need of them? Are not her magazines crowded with a superfluity of the most necessary productions, for which she has no market? Such as, amongst others, her wines and brandies.* The United States offer to her an immense

* Such is the situation of Aunis and Saintonge—plentiful

expense consumption; why does she refuse to supply them?

Even if her wines and brandies were not in such superfluity, it would be prejudicial not to support the price of them by foreign consumptions. The greatest scourge of industry, and especially of manufactures, is the low price of those liquors which are seducing by their strength. On this account prudent manufacturers carefully avoid wine countries. It would be superfluous to give a detail of their reasons; but certainly the politician, the most jealous of a free extension of individual enjoyments, will never become an advocate for the indulgence of men in those articles which deprive them of their faculties and reason.

France ought to desire the commerce of the United States. She ought also to be anxious for it on account of her manufactures, to employ her population which is in want of work. Consequently workmanship is cheap; whence results indigence, beggary, and strife.* Work and productions are increased by opening new markets. Thus, for example, vineyards will remain, which a want of consumption would soon cause to be destroyed; thousands of labourers, who languish, will be employed; society will be increased by thousands of individuals; more corn, more cloth, &c. will be necessary: hence an increase of interior consumption and population.

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vintages are there literally feared, and these provinces are at this moment over-charged with wine, for which they have no exportation: the people are miserable in the midst of abundance. See Note, Chap. V. Sect. 1.

* Means are every day sought to diminish and prevent crimes—Let property or employ be given to those who are without them: this is the secret—It must notwithstanding be agreed, that property is preferable to employ in workshops; under this point of view, commerce with the United States, in opening to us a great market, will be a means of diminishing mendicity and vices in France.

When we examine the question, if exterior commerce be advantageous and necessary to a nation; a newly constituted state, whose population is far from being in proportion to its soil, where there is space and property in land for every one, must be distinguished from that which is ancient, rich in productions as well as in men; or, to speak with more precision, a state where the unequal distribution of property takes men from the fields, shuts them up in cities, and prostitutes their faculties to the fancies of the rich.

Certainly such a new state cannot increase its foreign commerce before it has cleared great quantities of lands, and is become considerably peopled, and has a surplus of men and productions.

Such a state, while necessary, will undoubtedly follow this counsel.

But this counsel would be improper to another state, which, advanced in its civilization, covered with a population without property, having manufactures and money in abundance; whose industry and territorial riches wait for demands, and whose culture languishes for want of markets. A foreign commerce is necessary to this state to vivify it.

Such is the situation of France; neither soil, industry, activity, nor the thirst of gain, is there wanting; other pernicious causes slacken her interior commerce. If the merchant has not a certainty of markets, he does not buy nor give orders; the manufacturer employs fewer hands, has less occasion for the productions of the earth. Languor then descends from manufactures to cultivation, and diminishes population.

The reverse will be the case in the supposition of a vast exterior commerce, and will lead to the improvement even of our manufactures; for the necessity of improving to obtain a preference will oblige manufacturers to study the taste of the Americans,

cans, and to conform themselves to it, to vary the productions of their industry; and will oblige them not to relax, that they may not be surpassed by rivals.

It is here necessary to make some reflections on the general inferiority found in our manufactures, on comparing them with those of the English. This fact has furnished Lord Sheffield with his principal argument, to maintain that America will always prefer the latter. It is necessary to clear up this point, which seems not to be well understood.

Manufactures of luxury, of conveniency, and of necessity, must be distinguished in a manner hereafter pointed out. Lord Sheffield and all foreigners agree, that France has the advantage in the first class of manufactures.* His Lordship agrees even that France makes finer cloths than those of England; but with respect to manufactures of convenience, or such as are intended for the consumption of the people, we must, in spite of patriotism, agree on our part, that we are in many articles inferior to the English. This will appear by the sequel. It would be ridiculous and even dangerous to flatter the nation in this particular; the illusion would keep it in a state of mediocrity. It is for a better constituted patriotism to prove to the nation, that it may rise above mediocrity, and to shew it by what means this is to be effected. Should any body wish to know the cause of this double difference between the French and English manufactures, it is as follows:—

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* Our manufactures of silk have proportionably a much greater sale abroad than that of our woollens. It is that, independent of taste, or, if we will, of fashion, which we possess, and which opens to us a great consumption, the raw material is in a great measure one of our own productions; an advantage which puts it in our power to surmount many general inconveniencies, whose effects are more sensible upon our other articles of exportation, such as woollens, the production of which has less relation with the manufacture.

There is in England a greater number of men, among the people, in easy circumstances, than in France, and who are consequently in a situation to choose and pay better for such articles as they like. It is a known fact, that the common people of England, although loaded with taxes, are well clothed and fed;* the rags of misery are not found with the *poulle au pot*.† The English manufacturer having a greater demand for articles of necessity, and being better paid for them, can make improvements in his manufacture.

Should it be required to know from whence comes the easiness of circumstances so general in England, independent of the soil and position, and the advantages of that liberty which reigns there, it results from the consideration attached to industry in the opinion of the public; from the laws sure protection accorded to every individual against the agents of government; and the haughtiness and insolence, to which they are naturally inclined (because in men of slender education these are the effect of power,) being

* The goodness of things manufactured is so generally requisite in England, that merchandizes destined for exportation are there distinguished from those for interior consumption. There are great warehouses wherein the sales are for exportation only; the object of others is interior consumption. People who judge hastily conclude from hence, that those for exportation are badly manufactured. They are deceived, the difference is in the choice of materials. THE ENGLISHMAN SPARES NOTHING FOR THAT WHICH HE CONSUMES. The workmanship is the same; it would cost in general more to manufacturers to have two sorts of workmanship, a good and a bad one, than to have one only which is good, and a manufacture established upon a bad kind of workmanship would soon be decried. A shoe destined to foreign commerce is as well made as another; but it does not last so long, because the leather is not chosen from the best kind; and so of the rest.

† A memorable expression of Henry the fourth of France, who, in a conversation with his favourite Sully, said, he hoped to see the time when the poorest of his subjects would have it in their power to put a fowl into the pot for their Sunday's dinner.

ing continually repressed, and their being prevented from trampling upon the citizen, who must be obedient. He is obedient to the law, and not to him who puts it in execution.* In fine, it is the consequence of not blushing to be a tradesman, artificer, or workman, from father to son.

In France there are individuals excessively rich; but the people are poor. The first have it in their power to pay extremely dear for articles of luxury and fancy, which cause an improvement of manufactures of this kind. Finer cloths, as it has been before observed, are to be found in France than in England; but their quantity is not great, because there is not an extensive demand for those of the first quality.

On the other hand; the property of the people being very inconsiderable, they pay badly, and the consequence is, that things of conveniency or necessity are badly manufactured for them.

I will not here enter into the examination of causes which occasion such a state of things, nor of the means of changing it. I will leave the discussion of such means for another chapter; but the following conclusions must necessarily be drawn from these facts: the perfection of manufactures depends upon the demand, and the demand upon the means of payment. Now, because the French have not those means, they must be sought after in a foreign country.

* *THEE* and *THOU*, as terms of contempt, are unknown in England: *SIR*, is the general designation of every individual. A man accused of the greatest crimes, and who has the most miserable appearance, is never spoken to in the singular number when he is interrogated by his judges; and as he becomes an object of pity when he is convicted, decent appellations, generally in use, are not changed with respect to him. Can one suppose that this respect for man is prejudicial to public prosperity? Man is elevated by it; it gives him energy, and inclines him to ease. Contempt, which in other places is affected for the people, leads them to misery, and retains them in it.

try. Increase foreign demands for French manufactures, and they will be seen to improve very rapidly. This is the effect which the commerce of the United States will produce in France. These States contain a people accustomed to be well clothed, to make use of well manufactured things only, and capable of paying for good workmanship by their productions. Charged with the furnishing of articles for American consumption, French manufacturers will strive to outdo their rivals; and they can easily accomplish this *when Government shall be willing*. Nature has given them the means. They will become superior in almost every thing when once they shall no longer be obstinately counteracted.

Therefore, the commerce with the United States will be the cause of improvement in French cultivation and industry. Consequently it is necessary to embrace and pursue it.

CHAPTER IV.

That the United States are obliged by their present Necessities and Circumstances to engage in foreign Commerce.

SOME writers, among whom are found the celebrated Dr. Price, and the Abbé Mably, have exhorted the independent Americans, if not to exclude exterior commerce entirely from their ports, at least to keep it within very contracted bounds. They pretend, that the ruin of republicanism in the United States can happen only from exterior commerce; because by great quantities of articles of luxury and a frivolous taste, that commerce would corrupt their morals, and without pure morals a republic cannot exist.

“ Alas!

"Alas! what can the United States import from Europe, continues Dr. Price, except it be infection? I avow it, cries the Doctor, I tremble in thinking on the furor for exterior commerce, which is apparently going to turn the heads of the Americans. Every nation spreads nets around the United States, and caresses them, in order to gain a preference; but their interest cautions them to beware of these seductions."*

I am far from contradicting, *in its basis*, the opinion of these politicians. Moreover, I think, with Dr. Price, that the United States will one day be able to produce every thing necessary and convenient; but I am also of opinion, that these two writers have considered the independent Americans in a false point of view; that they have not sufficiently observed the state of their circumstances; in fine, that *their circumstances and actual wants oblige them to have recourse to foreign commerce*. This is a truth which I propose to demonstrate; for I will prove that the independent Americans are in want of the necessities and conveniencies of life, and in some states, of luxuries, and that their habits and nature, added to other circumstances, will always prevent their renouncing them entirely.

I will prove, that having no manufactures, they cannot themselves supply these wants, and that they can have no manufactures for a long time to come.

That although they already possessed them, they ought to prefer to national ones those of exterior commerce, and that they should rather invite Europeans

* Price's Observations, page 76. See the Abbé Mably, what he says of these observations, from page 146 to page 163. See also what the Count de Mirabeau has added to the Observations of Dr. Price, in his Reflections printed at the end of his translation of this work, page 319. London edition, 1785.

He has, as a severe philosopher, treated on exterior commerce, and made abstraction of the actual situation of the Americans.

peans to their ports than frequent those of the European states.

Finally, that by the same reason which makes it impossible to exclude exterior commerce, in case of wants which alone it can supply, it is equally so to fix its boundaries.

When the nature of man is attentively considered, it is seen that it incessantly disposes him to render his life agreeable. If he has a property, he strives to improve it; if the soil he cultivates be fruitful, and demands but little in advance, the desire of increasing his enjoyments stimulates him to torture his land to draw from it its various productions. One idea put in practice gives birth to another; one want satisfied creates a second, to have the pleasure of satisfying this also. Such is the nature of man; his activity, which leads him from desires to enjoyments, from one change to another, is the source of what are called manufactures. A manufacture is but the means of giving to a production of the earth, a form which adds to it a new degree of agreeableness and utility. Want and desire of manufactures are therefore in the nature of man; so that if we supposed Europe entirely annihilated, manufactures would soon rise up in America, because each individual strives to render his existence agreeable by means the most speedy and efficacious.*

Manufactures,

* Perhaps the character and life of savages, who are supposed to have no manufactures among them, will be opposed to these reasonings? Men are deceived in judging thereby; for these people, which we look upon as only one degree removed from a state of nature, work up and manufacture the earth's productions. Thus from their corn, before it is ripe, they extract a gelatinous juice, with which they make palatable cakes. Therefore, before the arrival of Europeans, they knew how to make fermented liquors, tools, utensils, arms, ornaments, &c. They confined themselves to these; hunting took them from a sedentary life, and did not give them time enough to extend their ideas.

Manufactures, like the wants of civilized men, may (as was observed in the last chapter) be divided into three classes: 1st. those of necessity; 2d. those of convenience; 3d. those of fancy or luxury. Food, and the natural exigencies of mankind, are comprehended in the first class.

It is from the wants of convenience especially, that manufactures have their origin. Without doubt, skins of sheep were sufficient to defend men from the severities of cold; a cabin or a hut from the intemperature of the atmosphere; but man is no sooner preserved from one evil than he seeks to get rid of another. Skins are insusceptible of being well joined together; use makes them hard; a cabin is frequently thrown down, is confined and smoaky; whence arise the wants of conveniency, which are transformed into enjoyments, whose accustomed use changes them into necessities.

When man has every convenience, he then thinks of ornament. Hence the wants of luxury; they are entirely in the imagination, and procure imaginary pleasures only. Therefore to wear any laced clothes, or drink coffee out of a china rather than a delfen cup, is a want created by luxury or fancy.

The nature of these three kinds of want being pointed out, it is necessary to know what those of the Americans are. They have the two first of them. Their habitudes contracted in their infancy from European emigrants, and their commerce with the English, have accustomed them to the kind of life and

F

taste

The pastoral life of the Arabians has conducted them one or two degrees farther in the art of manufacturing, because that kind of life affords greater leisure, and gives more uniform and constant productions. Those shepherds, whose riches consist but in their flocks, and who live on milk alone, and are clothed with their wool only, have a passionate desire for coffee, sherbet, and sugar. The desire of increasing their enjoyments is the cause. Let it be therefore agreed, that man by his nature is inclined to enjoyment, and consequently to manufactures.

taste of the latter, and it is well known that English industry has been particularly directed to necessary and useful arts.

The independent Americans, at least those who inhabit great maritime cities, have borrowed from the English a taste for luxuries; they seek for gauzes, blond lace, silks, &c. It is however with pleasure I observe, that if this taste of modes has infected London within these few years, its ravages have not been extended with the same rapidity in the United States as in Europe. Their situation, austere religion, morals, and ancient habits, their rural or marine life, prevent their seeking after elegance and dress, and keep them from ostentation and voluptuousness. Although they may perhaps be changed a few degrees, the evil is not yet sensible, at least in the Northern States * Therefore our observations ought principally to rest upon the two first classes of wants. Now it is impossible that the Americans should ever renounce them; they will be perpetually led and attached to them by their nature and habitudes, and by the manner in which their population is increased.

By their nature, because they are men; and it has been proved, that man is endowed with that activity which perpetually disposes him to add to his enjoyments.

By their habitudes, because, as it has been observed, they contracted that of all those wants; and it is well known, that a taste for pleasure is not to be exterminated when rooted by habitude. How can it be required of man to deprive himself of wine and
liquors

* Luxury is certainly to be found in Virginia; and when we speak of luxury with respect to free America, it is necessary to distinguish carefully the Southern from the Northern States; cities from the country; maritime cities from interior ones. By these distinctions many contrarieties in the account of superficial travellers may be explained.

Habits to which he is accustomed, and in which he places a part of his enjoyments, except we would render him unhappy? I will not quote hermits, sick persons, or philosophers, who have had that empire over themselves; but let not a like prodigy be expected in a whole nation. An association of three millions of philosophers has not yet been, nor will be seen to confine themselves to the regimen of Pythagoras,* or the diet of Cornaro.

The severe sacrifice of tea, which the independent Americans made at the beginning of the war, will perhaps be also quoted. The enthusiasm of liberty and influence of example were able, during some time, to overcome their habits;† as religious enthusiasm has combated, sometimes successfully, the passions of an hermit. But there is no cause powerful enough to produce a like effect, except in the crisis which makes the sacrifice necessary and easy. The reason of the dependence in which the Americans would put themselves with respect to the Europeans, and the fear of distant corruption, are motives too feeble to carry men to that point of heroism! It is not sufficiently demonstrated to them that they cannot drink wine from Madeira without being some day corrupted by it, and without preparing the way for great calamities.

The manner in which population is renewed and
F 2 increased

* It is not that we ought not to believe that one of the great means of regenerating the old people of the Continent, and of supporting republicanism in the United States, would be to give to children such an education as Pythagoras exercised at Crotona.—SEE THE LIFE OF PYTHAGORAS.

† It is assured that abstinence from tea was not every where faithfully observed, which appears very probable on reflecting that there was a party which fain would have violated it. I have known several persons whom the deprivation of tea had made ill for a long time, although they had tried illusive means, by substituting the infusion of agreeable simples for that of the tea-leaf.

increased in America, does not make it probable that its inhabitants will ever be able to renounce the want of European productions.

A prodigious number of individuals emigrate every year from all parts of Europe to America, who carry with them wants and inclinations which they have from education and habit. If they find them in America, they continue to gratify them; if they are unknown there, they naturalise them, and it is the first thing they go about; for they do not so much perceive the new pleasures they are going to enjoy, as those of which they are deprived; so great is the force of our first habits and customs. Remembrance, although frequently mixed with the cruel idea of servitude, abandons man in the grave only.

According to this inclination, natural to all men, let the immense variety of wants and appetites be calculated which are going to transplant themselves from Europe to the United States; and let it be judged, whether it be possible to put bounds to or destroy them.

To succeed in this, it would not only be necessary to shut out foreign commerce from all the American ports: American industry must be circumscribed, and the source of their wants stopped up; it would be necessary to imitate the Lacedemonian law, which ordained that nothing should be worked up but with the heavy hatchet, the more effectually to banish the luxury of elegant furniture. In a word, a miracle must be operated upon the Americans, to take from them all remembrance of what they have been, of all they have seen, smelt, or tasted; and the same enchantment must deprive European emigrants of their ideas; as it would be absurd to hope for a like prodigy, *the force of things*, which drags the independent Americans into exterior commerce, must be submitted

submitted to.* All is reduced to two words: America has wants, and Europe has manufactures.

In the United States some of the inhabitants fill up the leisure afforded by agriculture (in which the Europeans cannot hope to become their rivals) with an attention to manufactures. And they have others confined to the most necessary arts; connected with cultivation, fisheries, and the construction of vessels. But even these manufactures are but few in number, and insufficient for the wants of the United States. They are therefore obliged to have recourse to Europe. It is not that they neither have, nor can have almost all the raw materials employed in our own manufactures. They have hemp, flax and cotton.†

But, if they had raw materials in plenty, they ought to be advised not to establish manufactures; or, to speak more justly, *manufactures could not be established; the nature of things ordains it so.* Let us discuss this question, as it is an important one.

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There

* It is with regret that I write this fact, on considering it philosophically, but it appears to have been demonstrated politically. No person wishes more than I do to see the United States separate themselves from all the world, and in this situation to find again the austerity of the Spartan regimen, without its cruel principles of military disposition. It would be a smart stroke in politics; but this unhappily is no more than a dream.

† The four Southern States gather great quantities of cotton. Their poor are clothed with it winter and summer. In winter they wear cotton shirts, and clothes of wool and cotton mixed. In summer their shirts are linen, and their outward clothes of cotton. Women's dress is entirely of cotton, and made up by themselves, women of the richest class excepted; yet a woman of this class has a deal of cotton worked up in her house, and this callico equals in beauty that of Europe. Those from the South furnish a deal of cotton to the States of the North, which cannot grow it, the climate being too cold.

There is scarcely any part of the United States without good flour and saw mills. The Northern States have others for flattening iron. It is in the construction of mills especially, that the Americans distinguish themselves, in varying their employ and utility, and in their distribution.

There are many reasons for men's engaging in a new country in agriculture rather than in manufactures. There, where two individuals can easily live together, they marry, says Montesquieu. The labour of the field offers to them more means of living together, of augmenting and supporting their family, than working at manufactures: in these the dependence of the workman, his precarious and changeable state, his moderate wages, and the high price of provisions in cities, where most manufactures are established, put it out of his power to think of having a companion; and if he has one, the prospect of misery which she must have before her eyes after his death, imposes on him a law contrary to propagation, to avoid the cruelty of causing children to be brought into the world only to be unhappy.*

In a new country where land is not dear, where it requires not much in advance, or an expensive cultivation, and is at the same time fruitful, the number of little and happy families must rapidly increase.

What a difference in other respects from this pure and simple country life, where man is constantly in the presence of nature, where his soul is elevated by the spectacle, where his physical principles continually regenerate by a salubrious air, and in reviving exercises, where he lives in the midst of his relations and friends, whom he makes happy: what a difference from that to the life of manufacturers condemned to vegetate in dismal prisons, where they respire infection, and where their minds are absorbed, as well as their lives abridged! This conduct alone ought to decide

* Journeymen manufacturers, and in general men in a state of dependence, whose subsistence is precarious, and who have children, certainly love them less than the inhabitants of the country who have a small property. The paternity is a burthen, and consequently often odious to the first; their children are ignorant of the soft caresses of paternal love. What kind of generation must arise from such a connection!

decide the Americans to reject the painful state of manufactures.*

Besides

* The idea of property is one of the strongest ties by which man is attached to life, to his country, to virtue, and I will add even to health. The satisfaction of a manufacturer, who at the end of the week has a guinea in his pocket, is far from that of the little country proprietor, who is seldom possessed of such a sum; but who gathers in his own field every thing necessary. He loves it, sees it always with pleasure, takes care of its cultivation, and, by a consequence of this soft disposition, he attaches himself to the animals which assist him in that cultivation.

The labourer sees, as he works, the possibility of increasing the number of his children; and he has the pleasing hope of leaving them after his death a little corner of earth which will keep them from indigence.

The labourer is happy because his contracts are with the earth only, which gives liberally and disinterestedly, whilst the interest of the master who pays the manufacturer embitters the wages which he receives.

The labourer is still happy, because he is only amongst his equals; inequality is the source of malice. The superior is malicious to support his oppression. The slave is vindictive to destroy and revenge it.

The labourer is amiable and generous, because it would be necessary to abandon all cultivation, if there was not between husbandmen a reciprocity of services and confidence.

Perhaps it would not be difficult to prove that health and goodness are diminished in proportion to the increase of manufactures, cities, property, and the desertion of rural life; and that vices and crimes are increased in the same proportion.

This is not the opinion of the sensible and interesting author of the Study of Nature: "When I was at Moscow," says he, (Vol. III.) "an old Genevois, who was in that city, in the time of Peter I. told me, that since different means of subsistence had been opened to the people by the establishment of manufactures and commerce, seditions, assassinations, robberies, and incendiaries, had been less frequent than formerly."

But this would not have existed, and there would have been the same public and private virtue, if instead of making the Russians manufacturers, they had been made proprietors of lands. Husbandmen are honest people, says M. de St. Perre himself.—And workshops, as I have just observed, do not offer that necessity of reciprocal service which gives the habitude of goodness; they present interest struggling against interest, rich

Besides there will be, for a considerable time to come, more to be gained in the United States, by the earth, which yields abundantly, than by manufactures—and man places himself in that situation where the greatest and most speedy gain is to be acquired.

As population must, for many ages, be disproportioned to the extent of the United States, land will be cheap there during the same length of time,* and consequently the inhabitants will for a long time be cultivators.

Those whom ambition, thirst of gain, or ignorance, should incline to establish manufactures, will, from that moment, be disbanded from it by the dearth of workmanship. This dearth is already very consider-

and indolent stupidity striving to cheat active indigence. If workshops do not make men rascals, they dispose them to become so; they make them egotists, insensible, uncouth, and bad fathers.

Therefore, the fact quoted by this author does not prove, that to prevent crimes, it is necessary to establish manufactures; but that it is better to have manufactures peopled with degraded workmen, than forests with banditti; it is a lesser evil, but it is still an evil.

* An idea of the price of lands in the United States, may be formed from the following article taken from the Gazette of Philadelphia, of 9th of December, 1784: "Observe that the ground of Pennsylvania begins to be dear, and that the inhabitants begin to emigrate to Kentucky."—By this advertisement there are offered to sale, "25,000 acres of land, situated in the county of Northampton, State of Pennsylvania, upon the Delaware.—A public road, a navigable river, fertile soil, excellent for culture—meadows—places for mills—great forests—plenty of fish-ponds, &c. at half a guinea an acre.

"Another quantity of 25,000 acres, upon the Susquehannah, with equal and even greater advantages, at the same price.—"Good title deeds,—facilities of payment.—A reserve of three hundred acres only will be required in each district for the maintenance of the clergyman of the parish;—one hundred guineas when there shall be fifty families, to build a parsonage house—ten guineas a year for five years, and provision for the school-master."

considerable,* and may become still more so, as the cause which occasions it must naturally become more extended.

What is the cause? It has already been intimated so as to be foreseen.

Cities are built in all quarters;† lands are cleared and establishments made every where. In the state of Kentucky, for instance, where, in 1771, there were scarcely one hundred inhabitants, there are now nearly thirty thousand; and these men have emigrated from inhabited coasts or countries. Thus hands are taken from the commerce and agriculture of these last, which is consequently the cause of the increased price of workmanship.

From this dearth it has been concluded in Europe, that the people in America were wretched; a contrary conclusion ought to have been drawn. Wherever workmen govern; wherever they are paid a high price, the people are necessarily happy; for it is of them that the various classes of workmen are composed.

On the contrary, wherever workmanship is at a low price, the people are wretched; for this cheapness proves that there are more workmen than there is work to execute, more want of employ than can be supplied. This is what the rich desire, that they may govern the workmen, and buy the sweat of their brows at the lowest rate possible.‡

It

* Three, four and five livres are frequently paid in the cities of the United States for the day's work of a carpenter, blacksmith, &c.

† This is a great evil, as will be hereafter proved, and which will contribute more than any other to the ruin of republican spirit.

‡ To be convinced of this truth, look at England and France; workmanship is very dear in London but cheap in Paris. The workman in London is well fed, clothed and paid; in Paris he is quite the contrary.

“It frequently happens,” said an American one day to me, “that I meet in the United States a ploughman, conducting his

It is the reverse in America, the workman gives the law, and so much the better, he receives it too often every where else.

This dearth of workmanship is prejudicial to manufactures, and still so much the better. These establishments are so many tombs which swallow up generations entire.* Agriculture, on the contrary, perpetually increases population.

By preventing, or at least retarding the rise of manufactures within their provinces, the Americans will stop the decadency of morals and public spirit: for if manufactures bring gold into the States, they bring at the same time a poison which undermines them. They resemble a number of individuals whose nature and morals are at once corrupted: they form and accustom men to servitude, and give in a republic a preponderance to aristocratical principles, and by accumulating riches in a small number of hands, they cause republics to incline to aristocracy.

Therefore the independent Americans will do wisely to leave to Europe the care of manufacturing for them, because she is irresistibly dragged into manufactures; and as their population and consumption must rapidly increase, it is not impossible that Europe may one day confine herself to this kind of occupation, and that America may one day become her storehouse of grain and raw materials, of which she will not be in need. In this case nothing will be

"plough and horses, and eating a wing of a turkey and a piece of good white bread. I have seen," added he, "a vessel arrive at New-York, full of Scotchmen, not one of whom was unemployed the next day."

* There are several manufactures at Amiens, and it is remarked, that the hospitals are more filled with manufacturers than with masons or other like artizans. A manufacturing life makes more people ill and their complaints more dangerous; it is because this kind of workmen becomes sooner debauched, and goes sooner to the hospital, being mostly single, and without any domestic attachment.

be seen in Europe but cities and workshops; in independent America nothing but fields well cultivated. I will leave it to be decided which country would have the most happy fate.

Under the same point of view, the independent Americans will still act wisely by leaving it to the Europeans to furnish them with necessary articles; and in seldom frequenting the cities and sea-ports of the ancient continent. In effect, an European transported to independent America is in the proportion of one to one hundred, and sometimes to a thousand.—His example has therefore but very little influence; the luxury of which he makes a parade in passing by, excites less consideration or respect than contempt and ridicule. If he leaves a remembrance of himself, it is soon effaced by the general motion: there are, moreover, some Europeans, who, struck and edified by the manners and customs of free America, have good sense enough to respect and conform themselves to them.

It is the reverse when an American goes on shore in Europe, almost alone, with his simplicity of manners in the midst of a vortex of men who esteem the eclat of exterior appearance only; who, agitated and led by the general ton, sacrifice every thing to the furor of making a great figure by the brilliance of dress, equipage, and pomp: this American must at first be torn down and tormented, because he finds himself thrown into a circle of habitudes contrary to his own. Afterwards he becomes familiarised by little and little, and if he does not quite get a taste for them, at least his attachment to a simplicity of life and manners is necessarily weakened. Carrying back with him to his own country this disposition of mind, he introduces it insensibly into the minds of those who are about him, upon which it has some influence—upon the minds of his children and friends. Their taste for simplicity becomes lukewarm by his example,

example, and the following age sees public virtues fall into indifference.

It will be less dangerous to the public spirit of the independent Americans to admit the Europeans into the United States, than to go themselves into Europe; from which it results that it would be very impolitic to encourage the former to become the carriers of their exterior commerce.

I have insisted upon this reflection because there seems to have appeared in some States a disposition to give premiums for distant navigation. They ought to reflect, that they have but few hands, and that as few as possible should be taken from culture. They are in the situation I have spoken of in my principles of exterior commerce, where a nation gains by making carriers of others having less soil or employ. They should also recollect, that republican morals are better preserved in the bosom of agriculture than upon the sea and in foreign voyages, which give to men communications with other morals and governments.

It is a general question in the United States, by what means it is possible to put bounds to exterior commerce, and stop the progress of luxury: stay at home,—cultivate, cultivate, I will repeat to them; this is the secret whereby you will prevent the increase of luxury; a secret much preferable to sumptuary laws and prohibitory regulations, which some states have it in contemplation to make.

There is no power great enough to set, by regulations, such boundaries to exterior commerce as will not be exceeded: to circumscribe it, for instance, to merchandizes of convenience, without the importation of those of luxury. The nature or force of things only has such a power. That force has, as has been before explained, the union of the natural circumstances of a nation; these circumstances alone mark the limits of commerce. A nation which
cannot

cannot pay for luxuries with its own production, does not purchase them. The savage can only procure with his furs, brandy, gunpowder, and woollen coverings; he buys neither silks nor laces.

If, therefore, the productions of the United States be scarcely sufficient to pay for the importations of necessity and convenience from Europe, merchandizes of luxury will not be imported: if these be carried to it, 'tis because it can pay for them. There is no merchant who likes to ruin himself.

If, on the contrary, the United States have productions proper for the ancient continent, in quantities sufficient to procure, by their exchange, not only the most necessary and convenient things, but even those of luxury, nothing can hinder the latter from being sooner or later imported, by means of exterior commerce.

In truth, to increase demands of this nature, the public opinion, which before treated opprobriously a taste for modes, must totally change, and the particular opinions of certain sects equally yield to it.

But notwithstanding the powerful influence of opinion upon merchandizes of luxury, the fate of this kind of commerce will be more particularly determined by the state of the independent Americans, for when rich they will adopt them. This fact will appear certain, if what has been said on the nature of the human heart be recollected, and its inclination to improve man's situation, and to increase his enjoyments.

Taste for a rural life alone, if the Americans preserve it, will retard the progress of luxury, which springs up in cities, from satiety, want of something to do, and from lassitude: employment preserves the country from those moral ills.

There is one last consideration, which ought to persuade the independent Americans to employ themselves in cultivation, and reject both manufac-

tures and exterior transports; which is, that in wishing to undertake every thing at once, the scarcity of money, necessary at least for the mechanical part of these operations, will always be more perceived, whilst, by giving themselves up entirely to cultivation, they will procure from their soil productions sufficient to pay for these manufactures from Europe, and to make up for the scarcity of coin.*

They appear to be alarmed at this; what has been said upon the subject of money ought to remove their fears. It has been demonstrated, that a nation may carry on a very considerable commerce without its aid. It will hereafter be seen that the United States produce many raw materials essentially necessary to France,

* The independent Americans have but little money; this scarcity arises from two causes; first, from the kind of commerce they heretofore carried on with England, and afterwards from the ravages of a seven years war. As this commerce was purely one of exchange, and that in certain states, as Virginia, the importations always surpassed the exportations; the result was, that they could not but be debtors to England, and could not draw money from that island.

It was a kind of commercial servitude, which the English looked upon as the pledge and guarantee of the dependence of the Colonies upon the mother country.

The money they had came from their illicit commerce with the Sugar Islands and European powers. The war, afterwards, by changing labourers into soldiers, caused a part of their lands to remain without cultivation. From that time exchanges increased and money decreased. The little of it remaining in America, came first from money carried and expended there by the English and French armies, and afterwards by the loans negotiated in Europe by Congress.

But it is easy to conceive, after what has been said upon the quantity of coin, how a nation, which, by an extraordinary revolution, is all at once widely developed, its population rapidly increased, and is thereby obliged to continual advances, for clearing of lands, for building, making of roads and canals, to pay foreign debts, mostly in specie, and which has no mines, must feel the scarcity of money, and the reason of it is clear: the want of it is at present supplied, in Connecticut, by an exchange of commodities, or these against labour.

France, and that she can make their exports with greater advantage than those of any other country.

Thus it appears that these two countries may carry on together a direct trade of exchange without money, consequently an advantageous one; for the exchange between them of productions is more lucrative than an exchange of productions for money; although this opinion may not be adopted by men in general, who attach a greater price to gold than to merchandize, and continually forget its representative value, to substitute for it a real one. It must be incessantly repeated to them that money would be absolutely nothing without productions; that a rich people is that which, by its industry, increases population, and has consequently an abundance of productions; that the secret of increasing the quantity of coin consists only in the art of multiplying necessary productions, and it is this to which the United States ought to incline, without being anxious about the money which they may have at present or in future.

Let us resume the different questions contained in this chapter.

My object has been to make it appear that the United States were forced by their necessity and circumstances to engage in exterior commerce.

To convince my readers of this, I have proved that the independent Americans had wants of necessity, of convenience, and even some of luxury, which they could neither renounce nor supply themselves with.

That having no manufactures of their own, they were obliged to have recourse to those of Europe: that they could establish none for a long time, having but few hands, and that cultivation ought to employ all their cares.

That according to physical, political, and moral relations, they ought to persevere in applying them-

selves to agriculture alone, and even give up all thoughts of transporting to Europe, by their own means, their proper productions.

That this was the only means of preserving their republican morals, and of retarding the progress of luxury.

In fine, that by engaging in agriculture, and neglecting manufactures, they will less perceive the want of money, and will find the means of supplying that want, and of carrying on a very advantageous exterior commerce of exchange of commodities.

These different points being firmly established, it is at present necessary to prove, that of all the nations of Europe, France is the most proper to enter into a commercial alliance with the United States, and that their necessities and productions are correspondent to each other. It is proposed to lay open this truth, by presenting the double table of reciprocal importations and exportations, to be made between France and free America.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Importation to be made from France into the United States, or of the Wants of the United States, and the Productions of France which correspond thereto.

THE attentive reader will have already been able to judge, that if the independent Americans do not deviate from the career which is open to them, Europe will, for a long time, have to furnish them with manufactured merchandize. It has been made to appear, that the clearing and cultivation of lands, and all that relates to interior commerce, such as roads and canals, offered to their industry the most favourable

favourable and useful employ, especially whilst imposts do not restrain their movements, and that a free constitution equally honours every individual.

It is now necessary to take a cursory view of their wants, and to point out those articles with which France may pretend to furnish them in competition with other nations, if even she cannot do it more advantageously than her rivals. I will follow, in this enumeration, the English publications which have treated upon the matter, and particularly that of *Lord Sheffield*: he has omitted nothing, because his country pretends to furnish every thing.*

SECTION I.

Wines.

Wine becomes a real want of those who have once been acquainted with it. Happy or miserable, rich or poor, every body makes use of wine. Wine is the delight of the happy or of the rich: it helps the unfortunate to support his sorrow; the poor think they find it an equivalent for the food they are without.

Ease has lately been too general in the United States, not to have introduced the use of wine; and futurity, by augmenting their means, will only increase their want of this liquor.

The wines which were most generally consumed in the United States, were, as in England, Oporto, Madeira, and some from Spain. French wines, charged as in Britain, with enormous duties, were introduced by contraband only.

Liberty has caused those Britannie shackles to disappear.

G 3

* I will not descend to the minutiae his Lordship has done, but I will prove, in every important article, the French, if they know how to profit by their natural advantages, must obtain a preference.

appear. French wines are freely imported into the United States, and pay but little duty.

Such is the state of things, and it leads me to the discussion of three questions:

Does it suit the United States to cultivate vines, and to make wine?

Ought they not, in renouncing this cultivation, to give the preference to French wines?

And what means ought the French to use, in order to obtain and preserve this preference?

It would be absurd to deny that the United States can produce wine, because the experiments hitherto made have been fruitless. Extended as they are, and having countries as southern as Europe, it is impossible there should not be, in many places, a soil proper for the vine.

The little success of attempts may therefore, without hazarding too much, be attributed either to the ignorance of the cultivator, his want of perseverance, or a bad choice of plants.

However that may be, if the Americans will hearken to the counsels of able observers, and reap advantage from the errors of other nations, they will carefully avoid the cultivation of vines. In every country where they have been cultivated, for one rich man, they have made a number wretched.

The long and considerable advances which vines require, the preparation, preservation, and sale of their produce, have put all the good vineyard plots into the hands of rich people, who not cultivating these themselves, pay the real cultivator very badly. The salary of the wretched vine-dresser is every where inevitably fixed; the time he does not work not being calculated, and few wine countries offer any employ by which lost time may be filled up; and otherwise, the variations in the prices of the most necessary commodities occasioned by a thousand causes,

causes, by the abundance or even scarcity of wine, are not considered for him.

Would it be believed, that abundance is the most unfortunate thing that can happen, either to the proprietor or the vine-dresser? In fact, the expence of gathering augments, and the price of the thing diminishes. There is more work to be done, more hands are necessary, and they are paid more wages; more hogsheds are wanted, the expences of carriage greater, more space is required, the sale is less, and consequently the income.*

The scarcity of wines, or the sterility of the vineyard, is perhaps less unfortunate than the abundance; at least to the proprietor. But it is cruelly felt by the vine-dresser, and those wandering troops of day labourers, whom the ingratitude of their soil, or a bad government, forces to go from home in search of employ.

The numerous variations which have an influence upon the produce of the vineyard, make it very inconvenient property, and triflingly advantageous.†

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* The day's work of a-vintager varies according to the scarcity or abundance of wine, from six to fifty sols. The price of hogsheds has likewise variations in a different price, from three to fifteen livres. There are years wherein the price of the hogshed is higher than that of the wine which it contains.

The proprietor who establishes his expences upon his revenues, is every year deceived by those of the vineyard. In one year he receives at the rate of 20 for 100; the second year his vineyard is perhaps destroyed by hail; the third he is exposed to bankruptcy, or to suffer by it, or his wines turn sour; the fourth he may have but a moderate produce, which will not compensate for his preceding losses. In ten years time a proprietor would scarcely find an average year which was tolerably good; yet, as men love to exaggerate their riches and means, each proprietor calculates his revenue upon the highest produce that his vineyard has ever yielded; the greatest part of them spend in consequence, and are ruined.

† It is a proverb in France, that there is no property worse conditioned than that of the vineyard.

The return must be waited for when much has been gathered; payments must be made when there has been but little. The proprietor must therefore have other resources, whether it be to wait or to pay. The vine-dresser, unhappy enough to have a property,* without any of these resources, ruins himself sooner or later. He is obliged to sell at a low price,† or to consume his wines himself; thence results his stupidity and idleness, his discouragement, his dull and quarrelsome humour, and especially the ruin of his health. Too much wine in the time of abundance, no bread in that of scarcity; these are the two alternatives which divide his life.

Therefore countries covered with vineyards are generally less peopled, and present a picture of a degenerated, weak, and wretched population. For the most part they want hands to cultivate the vineyard in a season when work cannot be delayed. It is done by these bands of strangers, of whom I have already

* The situation of a vine-dresser is different according to the custom of countries. In some he is hired only by the day, and there he is completely wretched. In others, as in Switzerland, he has half of the produce. But an unjust and tyrannical tax, laid on by the proprietors themselves, reduces this half to a quarter part.

† Such is nearly the situation of most of the vine-dressers of AUNTS, who are proprietors. They are at the mercy of the rich farmers of that country. When winter comes, the vine-dresser has neither bread nor money. He goes to the farmer, asks him for both: the farmer says I will accommodate you, give me your note. The bushel of wheat is worth six livres, oblige yourself to return me, at a certain epocha, the quantity of wheat which shall be sold for six livres. He always takes care to fix the time when corn is at a low price. The obligation is passed, the moment of payment arrives; the vine-dresser, who has corn, gives more than he has received. If he has none, he is still more embarrassed; the farmer presses him—you have wine, says he, sell it me. But at what price? The farmer offers a very low one. It is refused—he threatens—the poor vine-dresser is obliged to ruin himself, and this scene is annually repeated.

already spoken, and who come to sell some days work to the poor vine-dresser.

The cultivation of a vineyard cannot be better compared than to those manufactures, of which the hopes of success are founded upon the low price of workmanship, and which enrich none but the undertakers, and retailers or shopkeepers.

The pernicious influence of the vine is extended, in wine countries, to even those who do not cultivate it; for the cheapness of wine leads to excesses, and consequently it becomes a poison for all ranks of society, for those especially who find in it a means of forgetting their sorrows.

Therefore, as I have already remarked, industry carefully avoids these dangerous vineyard plots. None of the great manufactures, whose success is the consequence of order, assiduity, and labour, are seen in the neighbourhood of them.

The result of all these observations is, that the Americans ought to proscribe the cultivation of the vine.

It would infallibly render miserable that class of society which should apply itself to it, and in a republic there should be none who are wretched, because want obliges them to disturb civil order, or, what is worse, because they are at the command of the rich, by whom they are paid, and who may make use of them to destroy republicanism.*

Considered with respect to the proprietors, the vine ought still to be proscribed by the United States; because every profession or calling, susceptible of too great a variation of fortune, which sometimes heaps up riches to one person, and at other reduces to indigence individuals in easy circumstances, ought carefully

* The mean language of shopkeepers, who humbly offer their merchandize, has already begun to find its way into the American papers.

carefully to be avoided. — Economy, simplicity, private virtues, are not attached to such changeableness.

They are found in the bosom of mediocrity only, from easiness of circumstances, founded upon that kind of toil whose produce is constant.* Such is that of agriculture in general; it embraces divers productions, which, in case of accident, replace each other.†

Finally, if it be insisted that wine is necessary to man, let it not stupify him; it should be used with moderation, and its dearness alone may oblige men to be moderate in the use of it. It being greatly the interest of the American Republics to remove all excesses from individuals, in order to prevent this degeneracy, they ought to keep perpetually at a distance from them a production, whose dearness will prevent the abuse of it, whose cultivation would render it cheap, and consequently bring on dangerous excesses both to policy and morals.‡

The catalogue which I have just gone over, of the evils and abuses occasioned by the culture of vines, will not induce the French to pull up theirs. But it ought at least to excite them to increase in foreign markets

* The Indians are almost all cultivators, or weavers, which is the reason why private morals have been better preserved among these people than any where else, in spite of the excesses of despotism.

† What recompence would be considerable enough for an ingenious man, who should give to humanity the means of preserving potatoes for several years, especially if the process were simple and not expensive? In that case want would be no longer feared. The embarrassment about the legislation of corn would disappear, and misery perhaps be driven from among men.

‡ It will be objected, that men employed in agriculture have need of wine to support them in their labour. This is but an opinion: there are found, in countries where it is least used, vigorous and indefatigable men. In truth, wine contains an active spirit which may supply the want of substantial aliment, and it is for this reason the peasants have recourse to wine or brandy, which is more within their reach. Give them meat and potatoes, and they will easily do without wine.

markets the consumption of wines, in order to keep up their price, and consequently to diminish a part of the evils which they produce. This will be doubly advantageous, by an additional exterior profit, and a diminution of interior ill. Nobody will deny that French wines must obtain the preference in the United States. They are the most agreeable, the most varied, and wholesome, if moderately used; the least prejudicial, if used to excess. They ought to be the basis of our exportations to America; no nation can raise a competition with us. Lord Sheffield himself pays this homage to our wines; but in order to assure to them this advantage for ever, the art of making, preserving, and transporting them must be improved.

In general we are at present far from this: * ignorance, old prejudices, discouragement of the people, impost on exportation; all concur to retard the progress of improvement.

The United States (these states of so new a date) already furnish us the model of an institution, which alone would encourage the culture of corn and vines, and

(*) I will quote, for instance, the wines of Provence, which, by their strength, ought to be capable of supporting the longest voyages; and by their analogy to the wines of Portugal, would have the greatest success in the United States, if they were properly prepared. These wines have hitherto been in the lowest repute in the North, in the Indian and American colonies; and that because, on one hand, the fitters out of vessels brought them without choosing, and on the other, the individual having no idea of the culture of vines, nor of the preparation of wine, mixed the white grape with the red, did not distinguish the plants, the soil, nor situation; cored it by rote, without paying attention to the difference of years and qualities; put into his tubs, to give, as he pretended, a higher flavour to his wine, all sorts of detestable ingredients, such as salt, lime, plaister, and pigeon's dung; put it into bad casks of the nut-tree; left in them a year's sediment, and never drew off the wine, so that it was always more inclined to turn sour than any other wine, and therefore became little fit for a foreign voyage.

and make the momentary inconvenience of abundant vintages, which ruin the proprietor and farmer, disappear.

This institution, easy to be naturalized in France, would have two branches, a deposit in the public magazines of the productions of the earth; certificate or billets of deposit which would form an authentic title for the disposing proprietor, transferable without formalities at the current price, like all other public effects.

It is thus, that in Virginia means have been found to supply the want of money,* and to give at the time of reaping, a real and useful value to tobacco, which, without that, waiting for a demand, lies heavy upon the proprietor.

This is not the place to examine this idea profoundly, neither to destroy the objections which will be made against it. This project may constitute the matter of a memoir by itself. I give here nothing more than the title.†

People

* The Virginians have given another example which proves how easy it is to do without money. Many countries near to the Ohio having none of it, the general assembly resolved; they should pay their quota of imports in hemp and flax, which should be deposited in the public magazines.

† If it were wished that this project should succeed, it would be absolutely necessary to put away all possibility of an abuse unpunished. It would perhaps be necessary, that government should take no part nor have any influence in it. This precaution will be exclaimed against; but let us once more cast our eyes upon England. If there be a government upon earth whose hands are tied, whose steps are watched, whose actions are brought to light, to public censure, and, consequently, whose secret attempts are less to be feared by the people, it is that of England. See what the astonishing Minister, who is now at the head of affairs, proposes to hinder the intervention and influence of the English government in the new plan of redemption of the public effects and of their decrease. He insists, that the commissioners who shall be charged with it, shall be always independent of government; that they shall be public agents, and that no force shall

People in the United States complain of an abuse in the commerce of the French wines, which abuse it is of importance to remedy in the most speedy manner, if we would not destroy the commerce in its origin. Illicit commerce produced there before the revolution good Bourdeaux wine, because it is *a property of smuggling to give that which is of superior quality, and at a cheaper rate.*

Now, since the peace, wines sent from France have not been, as it is asserted, of a good quality. It is impossible that from greediness they may sometimes have been adulterated. But this transient abuse, which the merchant may easily destroy whenever he pleases, by choosing in the United States

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constrain them to alienate from its object the money destined to pay off or lessen the public debt.

This minister clearly perceived, that the confidence of the people ought to be gained at any price, for the establishment which exists but by confidence; and that in such a case, the sacrifice of power would signify nothing to a government which is really willing to prevent abuses.

The advantages resulting from a plan like this are visible. Public depositories would supply the defect of ability in those who could not lay up the productions of the earth. They would prevent squandering, losses, and scarcity, and establish a more constant uniformity in prices as well as in quantities: want of confidence would at first perhaps hinder the use of these magazines, caves, or cellars of these public reservoirs. But this would not long be the case, if sincerity, order, and economy, reigned in these establishments. It is an advantage which might have been procured by means of provincial administrations, and which perhaps will never be enjoyed but under their auspices.

With respect to the BILLETS, OR NOTES OF COMMODITIES OR PRODUCTIONS, it is seen how greatly they would increase national riches, how quickly the misery of the peasants would disappear, if these notes circulated as value in commerce, and if the vine-dresser could change his note of deposit for productions of which he was in need. The monopoly of rich cultivators would then be overturned; of cultivators who suck up the whole subsistence of the vine-dresser, and, by avaricious advances, reduce him to their will.

commissioners whose reputation is untouched; this abuse, I say, ought not to stop the exportations of France.—Wine, if it be good, will always find consumers.—Nothing but intelligence and sincerity are necessary to succeed in this, for nature has done the rest for France.

The Americans prefer, in general, the wine which is carried to them in bottles, because they believe it less subject to become sharp, or to change on the voyage. On the first view it seems advantageous to France to furnish its wines with this envelope, because it is a new opening for its glass-ware. But if it be recollected, what a prodigious quantity of combustible glass manufactures require, to the sensible destruction of forests, it appears imprudent to encourage a commerce which cannot but augment it rapidly. At least, before it be encouraged, it would be necessary to have very certain accounts of the number of glass manufactories in the kingdom, of their consumption of wood and charcoal, of their produce and exportation, and, finally, of our forests and mines.

SECTION II.

Brandy.

The rapid progress lately made in chymistry has discovered, in most of the fruits of the earth, the salts and spirits which constitute the essence of brandy; this discovery has been turned to advantage; there results from it a considerable abatement in the price of that liquor, that is to say, a very great evil; this proves, by the way, that there are discoveries in physics which should not be revealed without having first considered their moral and political effects, and having indicated to government the means of preventing their inconveniencies; it also proves,
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that a chymist ought not to be a chymist only, but a politician also.

The brandies of France are generally looked upon as the best, that is to say, the most delicate and least pernicious: therefore they obtain the preference with people in easy circumstances.

A great deal of brandy is consumed by the common people; but this is counter-balanced at home and abroad by spirits drawn from grain, fruit, or sugar.

Rum, which is produced from the latter, has had, and ever will have, in the United States, the preference over our brandies, by reason of its cheapness. The Americans, especially the Bostonians, import melasses from the sugar islands, and distil it, and independently of their consumption, they resell a great part of it to the inhabitants of the same Islands, who cannot distil it for want of combustibles.

Beside rum, the Americans make strong spirits from grain, potatoes, &c. They are indebted for this to the Irish and Germans who have gone to settle in the United States. A pernicious present those emigrants have made them.

In Ireland the cheapness of spirits made from grain places them within the reach of the poorest man. The lowest classes of society use them to an incredible excess; and this excess contributes not a little to promote that quarrelsome humour which characterises the Irish, to plunge them into stupidity, and hinder them from rising to that degree of prosperity to which the liberty of commerce they have lately obtained ought to carry them.

The Americans would already have experienced a part of that degradation of which the excessive use of strong liquors is the cause, if they were not almost all proprietors, in easy circumstances, and fathers of families; if instruction and morals were not more generally propagated among them than among any

other people; and, finally, if the quick and considerable profits which workmen there obtain by the high price of workmanship, did not give them a salutary ambition which keeps them from intemperance.*

Those of the United States,† where the people have gone from simple and primitive manners, where luxury begins to reign, where slavery still exists,

* The temperance of the Americans proves, THAT A MAN IS HONEST WHEN HE IS HAPPY. He is neither vicious nor criminal, EXCEPT WHEN HE IS WRETCHED. What, therefore, is the first cause of his vices and crimes? The cause of his wretchedness. The genealogy of almost all crimes is—no property or want of employ—cause of wretchedness of the people—wretchedness the cause of drunkenness—drunkenness the cause of quarrels, of idleness, of misery, of thefts. Theft is cause imprisonment and capital punishments.

The first link only to which a defect of property is attached, remains to be remarked. It is not necessary to name it. But it arises from this genealogy, that in the actual order of things, the people being drawn into vices and crimes, are less culpable than they are imagined; consequently they ought not to be so severely punished, and that government should suppress too severe pains. This truth cannot be too often repeated, and it ought to be joined to every circumstance when opportunity offers, seeing that the list of bloody executions is every where augmented, and that narrow minds, which see the atrocity only of the crime, without perceiving its cause, incessantly demand blood for expiation. There would be but few scaffolds if none but real criminals mounted them.

† See Smith's Voyage to the Southern United States, where a description of the life of the Carolinians is given. This author makes it appear, that they drink to excess the strongest liquors, although the climate be extremely hot. By this they abridge their lives, and appear old in the flower of youth. This is one of the causes of the mortality among the English in the East-Indies; they have introduced there the use of wines and strong liquors, and they are victims to them. The Indians make no use of these, and live to a great age.

In quoting Smith, the European readers ought to be put on their guard against English partiality, which reigns throughout the work.

exists, are daily witnesses to the ravages caused by the excessive use of spirits made from grain.*

A long habit is difficult, and often impossible, to shake off, especially when it procures enjoyments. Therefore, it is not to be expected that the Americans will ever renounce the use of these liquors. The philosopher sighs at this; commercial nations, which turn to profit the misfortunes and caprices of mankind, strive to take advantage of it. France will have the advantage,† if she can reduce the price of brandies to the level of that of rum. Government, in order to aim at this point, has already perceived the necessity of lowering the duties on the exportation of these spirits.

But ought it to favour, with so much complaisance, the distillation and exportation of brandies? I do not think so; this new opinion seems to be a paradox; it will cease to appear so, when it shall have been examined with attention.

The distillation of brandies cause a great decay of combustibles: one great evil in a country where combustibles daily become more rare.‡

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* All brandies, except those from sugar and wine, are pernicious, especially when new. They cannot be drank without immediately disordering the body. The most trifling excess is sufficient to cause death.

† Lord Sheffield agrees that the brandies of France are preferable to those of Spain and Portugal, of which there is nevertheless some consumption in the United States.

‡ All the provinces of France, those even to which nature has refused the means of transporting their wood to others, feel the scarcity of this article. Lorrain may be quoted as an instance. The forests of that province decay, as it is reported in the prospectus of a price upon pit-coal, proposed by the academy of Nanci—the dearness of wood is excessive there. The cause of this inconvenience is not difficult to assign; it is the necessary consequence of forges, glass-houses, salt-pits, &c. The academy requires pit-coal to be sought for, to serve instead of wood. A more simple means would be to destroy forges and glass-houses, and to get iron and glass from America.

The exportation of brandy produces but little to the revenue. To encourage this article, it has been necessary to take off the impost, which at present is no more than five sols per hoghead, whilst wine pays a duty of at least an hundred sols, and in the Bordelois, from that sum to twenty-eight livres.*

Government ought to have done the reverse, to have reduced the duties on wines, and augmented those upon brandies.

The exportation of brandies is prejudicial to the consumption of our wines, for it is the basis of all made wines in countries where wine is not produced. It is put into a great quantity of water; to which are added bay-berries, every where to be found. Wine brandies are indispensable in this fabrication; no other can supply their place, because they only can give to artificial wines the winy taste which is essential to make them drinkable.

What immense gain to strangers in this process—and what loss to France! A barrel of brandy which pays a trifling duty on exportation, whose transport costs but little, on account of its contracted bulk, may be added to five or six barrels of water, which cost nothing, and by the aid of sugared ingredients, which give colours, may enter into competition with six barrels of wine, that pay considerable duties on exportation, and whose exportation and transport are very expensive.

Therefore, in distilling and exporting brandies, we work for the interest of our rivals; we give them an easy means of doing without our wines. What folly!

* Government has, since this work has been written, suspended the duties paid by the wines of Bourdeaux and Languedoc. This suspension was granted upon a remonstrance, importing that there was an enormous quantity of wines at Bourdeaux, and which the holders dared not export, that they might not be obliged to advance the high duties. This proves, that imposts occasion a stagnation.

folly! What would people say of an alchymist, who, having found the philosopher's stone, should communicate his secret to his rivals, who would make use of it to his prejudice.

And yet this operation, so prejudicial to France, has been favoured by government. It encourages distillers; that is, it raises up enemies against the meliorating vineyards and wines, and especially against the art of preserving the latter. It would be much more prudent and advantageous to discourage distilleries. In fact, the distillation of brandies is for the vineyard proprietor a last resource, which proves his ruin.*

SECTION III.

Oils, Olives, dry Fruits, &c.

These articles are so many wants with the Americans of easy fortune, and especially those in the northern States. Our southern Provinces, which produce such delicious fruits, cannot in this respect fear any competition. They are also articles which have hitherto best succeeded in adventures made from Marseilles.

Moreover, all that Europe will be able to furnish of them, will find room in the United States; they will

* In the Orleans, six barrels at least of wine are necessary to make one of brandy. The wine of this country, when it is drinkable, is sold on an average at thirty livres a barrel. The six barrels produce one hundred and eighty livres, and reduced to brandy they scarcely produce eighty. Thus the proprietor suffers a loss of one hundred. Brandies sent abroad, where they diminish the sale of wine, can bear no exportation duty. Wines, on the contrary, pay a considerable one. Let these calculations be answered. The English themselves ought not to admit the brandies of France, because, in filling England with artificial wines, they are prejudicial to their wine duty. The prohibition of brandies would, under this double aspect, be advantageous to both countries.

will accompany our wines, and we can join with the same ease and certainty of sale, perfumery, anchovies, verdigrease, &c. as well as an hundred other little things taken by the English from Marseilles, and of which they have created a want to the Americans.

Lord Sheffield, in his work, makes Spain, Portugal, and Italy, furnish the United States with these commodities. I wish he had been sincere enough to give the advantage to France. France is so generally known to sell these productions in the States of America, that it is equally astonishing this writer should have been ignorant of it, or silent upon the subject. This fact, by proving his partiality, ought to put readers upon their guard against his assertions.

SECTION IV.

Cloths.

People governed by a free constitution are naturally grave and deliberate. They prefer, in every thing they use, goodness to elegance, what is solid to that which is subject to the caprices of mode. Therefore, as long as the independent Americans enjoy their excellent constitution, they will prefer clothes of cloth to those of the most brilliant stuffs.

Moreover, its beauty, pliancy, strength, and duration, render it more generally fit for this use in any climate whatsoever: cloth secures the body from the excesses of cold as well as from those of heat. It resists rain; in a word, it unites every convenience; and if it be the universal clothing of people in a middling state, it offers equally to the rich, but reasonable man, a choice proper to satisfy his taste, and to proportion his expences to his means.

The manufacture of cloths is in the number of those complicated manufactures which employ throughout the year a great number of workmen by
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the day; therefore it will not be suitable to the Americans, so long as that class of men which produces these workmen shall be able to employ themselves more usefully in the clearing of lands, and in cultivation in general.

A manufacture of woollen stuffs, proper for the clothing of the country proprietor, his family and servants, may, without doubt, be associated into the labours of the field; but manufactures of this kind, although very important in themselves, can only be applied to coarse and unfinished stuffs. The interrupted leisure of the peasant permits him to do nothing which is complicated. Card, spin, weave, and bleach, is all that he can do.* If it be necessary for him to go beyond these, he will find a greater advantage in selling his raw materials, or even with their first preparations, if they be simple, and to draw from the manufactures, properly so called, the articles of which he is in need.

We owe little gratitude to those of our speculators who immediately after the peace dispersed our cloths in the United States. If one spark of public spirit had animated them, they would have perceived the precious and honourable service which they were able to render to their country in these first adventures, by giving to the Americans a great idea of the state of our manufactures. These people were well disposed, by the succour France had given them, to cherish its inhabitants, to esteem their character, and receive their productions. They were well

* As long as there are lands to be cleared, the leisure which agriculture affords will be very short, because every season is proper for this employ, except when too great a quantity of snow stops the work. The intervals of leisure become regularly established, when the system of cultivation is fixed, and the soil entirely disposed thereto. Then undertakings are calculated upon their duration; but, in general, simple work, which requires no workshop, no considerable apparatus, is that only which agrees with agriculture.

well disposed to abjure the contempt and aversion with which the English had inspired them for their rivals and their productions, and to give France the preference in every thing. Why has avarice, by a miserable calculation, rendered these good dispositions of no effect? Men were willing to gain, to gain greatly; to make what is called a good stroke, in taking advantage of the distress of the Americans, and forcing them to take those commodities which were unfit for every other market.*

This dishonesty has counterbalanced the service rendered them; for the imprudent and wretched young man, whose throat is cut by an usurer, owes him no acknowledgment. A greater evil to France has been the consequence—her cloths have lost their reputation in the United States. But let the Americans undeceive themselves; let them not attribute to the nation the fault of a few individuals; let them not have a bad opinion of our cloths, because some bad ones have been sent to them. The same accident would have happened to English cloths if, in a like case, there had been English merchants avaricious enough, and so far strangers to the public good, as to send their refuse to the United States.†

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* I do not accuse any body; but I can certify, upon the authority of the most respectable eye-witnesses, that some of these outcast cloths fell at the end of six months wear into shreds.

The Americans were so struck by this, that Mr. Laurens, after having received two millions, which France lent to the United States, employed a part of that sum to buy English cloths. Complaints were made; he answered that it was his duty to buy better and cheaper cloths.

† English merchants love, as well as others, to get money, and there are among them those who, for the love of gain, would trample under foot every patriotic consideration. But the public spirit of the generality of them puts, in England more than elsewhere, a check upon the shameful enterprizes of avarice; consequently the greater part of the merchants never abandon the national interests in their speculations, neither the honour of English commerce, nor the reputation of their manufactures. It

The Americans who come among us, study the nature of the intercourse which we shall one day have with the United States; they know that our manufacturers possess all the means which give to English cloths their reputation; that they make them in the same manner, and that the superfines are superior to those of England; that in general dying is better understood with us, and carried to greater perfection: in short, that it depends but on some circumstances easy to be got over, to make the cheapness of our workmanship assure us the preference to the English with respect to cloths.

Lord Sheffield, in avowing the superiority of our fine cloths, and of their cheapness, observes, that the greatest consumption of the Americans is of common cloths, with respect to which France cannot enter into a competition with England. And he draws from it this consequence, that the inconvenience of dividing the demands to compose assortments, and the consideration of the small quantity of fine cloth necessary to form them, will cause these to be ordered in England, notwithstanding the advantage there would be in getting them from France.

But why should we not furnish common cloths to the United States, since the labour of our manufacturers is cheaper than that of England? It is because the English wool is cheaper than ours. The English grow their own wool, and stand in no need of

is thus they are become the principal agents for furnishing every species of manufacture to the whole world. When it happens that any of them sacrifice national reputation to views of private interest, honest patriots generally prefer accusations against them before a public tribunal, and then the culprit is not suffered to answer by clandestine memoirs to public and substantial accusations; this obscure and cowardly resource is held in too great contempt to be made use of. There remains nothing to the culprit but silence or falsehood; in both cases he is dishonoured in the opinion of the public, which affects and marks every individual, without respect to rank, power, or riches.

of foreign wool, except a little Spanish, indispensable to superfine cloths. On the contrary, we import more than half of the wool we manufacture into cloth. M. la Platiere says there are thirty-five millions of sheep kept in Great-Britain, each of which, he affirms, produces on an average at least six pounds of wool. It is the breed of sheep which gives to England such an amazing superiority over all other nations in her woollen manufactures. France ought to encourage the breed of sheep and the destruction of wolves.* M. la Platiere saw this evil, and had courage to publish it in the *Encyclopædiæ Methodique*. Platiere was called a man of pretensions. The same title was given to Dr. Price in London, when he predicted the loss of the Colonies. The ministerial heads of that country laughed at the prophet, but the event proved he was right.

SECTION V.

Linens.

There are two principal species of linen-drapery, which are subdivided into a multitude of others.

The first species contains linen properly so called; that is to say, linen which serves to make shirts, sheets, table linen, and all the linen made use of for every purpose of cleanliness.

These linens are made with hemp, flax, or cotton; this last article is employed when the two former ones are scarce: it is sometimes mixed with flax.

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* In the time of the monaschy there was an office called *Lou-veterie*, or Master of the French King's wolf-hounds, and his associates received a trifling recompence for the head of every wolf they killed: of whom this fact is well attested. There is a small district, the sub-delegate of which put into his account the price of ten thousand wolves heads. The quantity appeared extraordinary to the minister. The affair was examined. The sub-delegate was discharged. But he who prompted him to the act went unpunished.

The manner of making these linens is very simple; they are made in all parts of Europe.* Those countries where religious or political despotism discourages industry; where the numerous institutions of charity, invented to divert the attention of despair from misery, nourish idleness; these countries are the only ones wherein this manufacture does not merit the attention of the political observer.

Every where else, the country people employ, more or less, the leisure which their kind of life affords them to spin and weave linen. Most of the farmers and proprietors who enjoy a little ease, or who are not afraid of letting it appear, sow hemp or flax, and draw from their soil and the work of
I their

* If there be a country where the manufacture of linens is encouraged, it is in Ireland, particularly since its resurrection into the political world. Parliament has established a committee which is particularly employed about this manufacture, and which grants very considerable succours to manufacturers. There is one who has obtained more than thirty thousand pounds sterling from government, and whose manufacture employs two thousand men and women, and six hundred children.

This committee names inspectors to examine the state of manufactures, and afterwards to make reports, or give a general description of their situation, of the number of workmen they employ, of their produce, resources, wants, &c.¶

Still more has been done in Ireland, to encourage the commerce of linen; great edifices have been built, and destined to receive them, as well as those who come to offer them for sale. The most considerable market being at Dublin, three or four times a year, linen merchants from the North, who have bleach-yards, come to Dublin with their assortments. They find in these edifices, places for their linens and for themselves to lodge in, all at no expence.—They meet English buyers or others, who go there to gather together all their purchases.—Like depositories are established in the North; they are essentially necessary to those manufactures, the articles of which are gathered in the country.—Where they exist, expences are less, and work is better paid for.

¶ When these inspectors are honest, and men of understanding, their reports are evidences of success. Then example has a singular influence upon industry.

their hands the linen which covers their bodies and supplies their family.

The English have added other causes to those which produce low-priced workmanship: their astonishing industry, their observing genius, their ever calculating mind, have invented for the spinning, &c. of cotton, and for weaving, several machines which still surpass the cheapness to be expected from the leisure of the inhabitants of the country.

As these machines are insensibly introduced into countries, it may be expected that the low price of linen-drapery will be every where established.

But notwithstanding the multiplication of these machines, nations which groan under a bad government, or are grown rusty in old and wretched habits, will always depend, for that article of necessity, upon those which have established bounds to their government, but none for their industry, which must constantly increase.

It results from these facts, that the United States will always have, in proportion to the increase of their population and culture, less recourse to strangers for that principal kind of linen-drapery whose manufacture is so well associated with the labours of the field.*

Very fine linens must be excepted; they are destined for luxury, and the individuals employed in manufacturing them are condemned to vegetate miserably in cities, rolling perpetually in the same circle of mechanical labours.† It is the unhappy fate of all

* The American women are renowned for their industry in the conduct of their houses; they spin a great deal of wool or flax; they would lose their reputation and be despised, if their whole family were not almost entirely clothed with the cloth and linen made in the house—if the whole interior of their rustic habitation did not bear evident marks of their cleanliness and industry.

† Manufactures are much boasted of, because children are employed therein from their most tender age; that is to say, that men congratulate themselves upon making early martyrs

all those who are born in Europe without property, and will not debase themselves by domestic labour.

The United States, where laborious individuals may with so much facility become proprietors, are far from that degradation; and if they are wise, they will have, for a long time, the happiness not to see spun or woven among them, any of those delicate kinds of thread and fine linens, which, sought after and bought up by the opulent, are the real productions of European misery.

The second species of linens contains what is more properly called linen-drapery; that is to say, cloth made of thread of different colours, whether flax or cotton; or these two substances mixed with others.

The greater part of this drapery requires too complicated a process, too varied an apparatus, too continued a labour, to be manufactured otherways than in those particular establishments, situated from necessity in the neighbourhood of cities, and which have no affinity with a rural life.

The art of making well the tissue, of mixing the colours, of contrasting them, of imaginary agreeable
 I 2 designs,

of these innocent creatures; for is it not a torment to these poor little beings, whom nature commands us to permit to take the air and their sports, until they are of riper years, and their strength is become considerable—Is it not a torment to them to be a whole day, and almost every day of their lives, employed at the same work, in an obscure and infected prison? Must not the weariness and vexation which they suffer, obstruct the opening of their physical and intellectual faculties, and stupify them? Must not there result from this a degenerate race, inclined to automatism and slavery? For most manufactures require no other than mechanical labours, which a machine would perform as well as a man. It is therefore impossible that a man condemned to this kind of employ should not become a machine; and stupidity and servitude are joined to each other.—These truths cannot be too often repeated, not to disgust the Europeans with the mania of manufactures; they are too far advanced to retract; but to hinder the Americans from ever following the same career.

designs, of preparing the linen when it is finished, &c. this art, extensive, varied and delicate, requires the greatest attention. The most important thing is to do a great deal in it at a little expence, and it is the point to which the English are arrived, with respect to that kind generally known under the name of printed callico.

This will be for a long time a considerable article of commerce, between Europe and the United States, which consumes a great deal of it; and it is an article wherein French industry, left to its natural force, and not being restrained by any obstacle, need not fear competition.* In this, as in most other articles, the nature of things is entirely in favour of France, and success depends wholly on the will of her government.

In the year 1785 the government of France invited, by an *arret*, foreign manufacturers of these linens to come and settle in France.

But this invitation is not made in terms sufficiently clear, or flattering, to induce strangers to come and settle amongst us; especially not such as have a little energy and elevation in their characters, and it is of these alone that we are in need.

Among different favours granted them, there is one which entitles them to the *enjoyment of their state or profession, and of their usages; in that which shall not be contrary to the laws of the kingdom, &c.*

But

* Lord Sheffield maintains in his work, that France has not even linen enough for her own consumption. A commercial dictionary, printed at Lyons in 1763, assures on the contrary, that France sends a great deal abroad. If the compiler of the dictionary spoke truth, he might be answered according to the author of *Les Etudes de la Nature*—"Of what use is it to a state to clothe foreign nations, when one's own people are quite naked?"—These two writers may be made to agree, by saying that France, restored to her energy, would easily furnish linens to foreigners and her own citizens, and that various interior causes have hitherto prevented her from doing it.

But what signifies all the vague expressions of enjoyment, of state and profession, liberty and usages? What state is here spoken of? Is it of the political, civil, religious, or domestic state? Englishmen, independent Americans, have a political state, a political liberty, that is, a right to take part in the administration of public affairs: is this state understood? Is the liberty of having a temple for communion, for marriage according to that communion, understood by the liberty of usages? Why are not these usages specified?

And above all, what signifies these words, *in that which shall not be contrary to the laws of the kingdom*. If they convey a clear meaning, do they not completely destroy the preceding favours granted? or, at least, do not they leave a great uncertainty upon that which is or is not granted?

Why is not a language clear and without evasion made use of, especially in treating with strangers? Instead of an equivocal jargon, dangerous in its nature, because it produces mistrust, and may give an opening for deceit, why not say to them in clear terms, "If you come within our states, accompanied by your wives and children,—if you bring your manufactures, if you establish yourselves among us, you shall enjoy all the rights of our subjects? These rights are, to possess property in the fullest security, and not to be deprived of it but by the laws, tribunals, &c. If you fix your abode among us, your children will, without obstacle, be your heirs: you shall also preserve your religious opinions. When there shall be a certain number of you, you shall have a temple wherein to worship, according to your own manner, the Everlasting Father; and you shall have ministers, and hold assemblies; shall intermarry according to your rules, &c. If France be not agreeable to you, nothing, absolutely nothing, shall hinder you from leaving it, and carrying with you

your riches." It shall be told that all this was meant to be said by the arret: it was necessary then to explain it clearly, and why were these obscure words added,—*in that which shall not be contrary to the laws of the kingdom?*

How should a German, an Italian, an Englishman, who should be tempted to establish themselves in France, be acquainted with your ancient laws and ordinances? Will they turn over your innumerable folios? Certainly they will not, they will stay at home; you will therefore have failed in your intentions. On the other hand, do not they know that a century ago, and ever since that time, thousands of ordinances were, and have been made against the Calvinists, and that these ordinances are not yet repealed? Ought not they to be afraid that these would be brought forth against them if they gave the least offence? They will remain at home, and once more you have missed your aim.

It is the more necessary for monarchies not to disguise under a captious form the advantages by which they seek to entice strangers; as free states, such as Ireland and Independent America, do not subject emigrants to any capitulation or constraint: they offer them all the rights of citizens the moment they set their feet on free ground: and what rights! In Ireland that of voting at elections; in the United States, that of being elected themselves; and consequently the most seducing right, because it is the most proper one to maintain the dignity of a man who has dignity; the most proper to give it to him who has it not.

When a nation perceives the necessity of enticing strangers to settle in it, nothing ought to be spared, especially in states far advanced in civilization.

It is a means of regenerating morals, if it be possible to regenerate them, and especially to encourage industry;

industry; for in order to exist in a strange land, and to gain in it consideration and confidence, emigrants are forced to have good morals, probity, and exactitude. Their example cannot but have a salutary influence upon the nation which receives them into its bosom.

Otherwise, having opinions, habitues, and knowledge, different from those of that nation, they may help it to break its bad customs, to give it a greater extent in its views, more cosmopolitism, or of that character proper for approaching nations to each other, and for diminishing national antipathies.

When the advantages which a country acquires by strangers who fix themselves in it are considered, it is astonishing to see governments think so little about them, and frequently not to respect their rights. They ought, on the contrary, to protect a stranger so much the more as he seems less supported by the laws than a citizen; that he is unacquainted with them; that he may easily be the victim of artifice and chicanery; that it frequently happens that he does not understand the language; finally, that being alone, he has neither family, friends, nor patrons.

In this situation, the stranger ought to be environed by the safeguard of a particular administration, which should watch over his safety; but it is the reverse of this in many states.*

Thus, whilst we see in those states who understand their interests better, Frenchmen direct the greatest

* If a stranger be suspected, few examinations are made; he is arrested—liberty is left to a citizen, or at least he is treated mildly; the stranger is imprisoned: the subaltern, insolent by reason of the indifference of his superiors, treats him with severity: for what is there to fear from him? Is the word with them all,—set at liberty—will that stranger go and make the temple of chicanery ring with his complaints? He fears, lest it may be a new forest,—he flies, cursing that inhospitable country.

greatest part of their manufactures; few strangers are seen to come and establish themselves amongst us.

I could quote, as a proof of what I advance, known facts, quite recent; but I will not write a book upon every article of exportation; I will confine myself to saying that *great liberty, and few regulations*,* are the two best means of improving the linen manufactures in all countries, as well as in France.

SECTION VI.

Silks, Ribbons, Silk Stockings, Gold and Silver Lace, &c.

There are upwards of seventy thousand looms and frames employed in these articles, and one half of the silk made use of is produced in the kingdom.

The other states of Europe, except Spain and Italy, are obliged to procure from abroad the whole of the silk necessary for the manufactures which they have established, in imitation of those of France.

If there be added to the advantage which these circumstances give to the French, their singular aptitude for the manufacture of every article of luxury; their incredible fecundity in varying these articles; the absolute and general empire allowed them over the taste and mode which preside in these manufactures; an empire so particular, as to be every where copied; no doubt will remain, that French silks, ribbons,

* I might quote, as a proof of what I have said in the course of this work, that even the regulations which appear favourable to industry, are prejudicial to it; the new *arret* passed in favour of French linens, subjects them to a stamp duty, under the pretext of preventing fraud. The duty appears moderate, yet the manufacturers are sensibly injured by it; moreover it restrains them, in subjecting them to the caprices of revenue clerks; and this does not prevent fraud; therefore, to prevent the manufacturer from being robbed, his money is taken from him, and the robbery still takes place; he would prefer being left to defend himself against thieves.

ribbons, silk stockings, and lace, will be preferred to all others in the United States.*

It is not to be feared that they will be manufactured there; from the cares which the insect that produces the silk requires, to the arrival of the stuff in the warehouse where it is to be sold, almost all is workmanship; and the workmanship of Europe must for a long time, if not for ever, be even cheaper than that of the United States.

The consumption† of these articles cannot be very

* Yet Lord Sheffield gives for competition with France, England and Spain. It is to be observed that England cannot undertake with advantage those manufactures wherein gold and silver are introduced, nor in general those which have for their basis the use of brilliant metals. Fire is necessary as an agent in such manufactures, and a coal fire is prejudicial to them. The atmosphere in England is perpetually charged with sulphureous vapours, where contact tarnishes, in a very little time, gold and silver lace, &c. and this perhaps is the motive, which more than manners has banished, and will for ever exclude this kind of luxury from England; and it is not a misfortune.

† Our design being to dissuade the free Americans from wishing for manufactures, we ought not to lose the present opportunity of describing to them the abuses and inconveniencies inseparable from these establishments. There is none which has had more success in France than that of silk. Yet see the frightful description given of it by M. Mayer, director of the manufactures of the King of Prussia, in his Memoir on the manufactures of Lyons. (Paris, Moutard 1786.) He indicates as causes of the decacy of the manufactures, the drunkenness of workmen on Sundays, the infection of their dismal lodgings, bankruptcies which are the result of ignorance and dishonesty, the cessation of work during court mournings, which occasions some workmen to emigrate, and others to steal, the misconduct of revenue officers, the monopoly of silk, &c. abuses so much the more alarming, says M. Mayer, as they are, for the most part, the offsprings of luxury, and which are produced either by acquired riches, or the thirst of acquiring them; it seems as if they could not but spring up in manufactures.

Who can recommend the establishment of manufactures, on reading the following reflections of the same author?

“The concurrence of manufactures necessitates their cheapness: to have a preference of sale, it is necessary to sell at a

very considerable there,* if America takes advantage of that opening to which nature calls her. Ribbons excepted, the rest are proper for great cities only; where vanity being incessantly excited, makes dress a desirable and almost necessary object. But these great cities will, without doubt, be very rare in the United States. It is still more certain that the consumption of silks does not, at present, form there a considerable article; that it will augment but very slowly, and in a manner almost insensible. The Americans ought undoubtedly to be congratulated upon it. Their manners will be good and simple as long as they do not contract a want of these articles; but if they do not want them for themselves, they will have occasion for them to form branches of their smuggling commerce with the Spaniards: Nature invites them to carry on this commerce in an advantageous manner, both by sea and land.†

It

“lower price; the wages of workmen must therefore be moderate, and they must gain no more than will find them in necessities: the workman must never be suffered to enrich himself. In becoming rich, he becomes difficult, exacting, enters into combinations, imposes laws, becomes dissipated and idle, he causes the price of workmanship to increase, and manufactures to fail.” **THUS RICH STUFFS OUGHT TO BE WATERED WITH THE TEARS OF THE WORKMAN WHO MANUFACTURES THEM.**

Ought not this last phrase to disgust the free Americans forever with the mania of manufactures of luxury?—Let them reflect, that to support the silk manufactures of Lyons, the same author proposes to the King of France, to sacrifice his taste for simplicity of dress, and to wear brilliant clothes, &c.

* Lord Sheffield says, that it is not the fifth part of Indian silks, &c. but what signifies this calculation? The country which consumes the greatest quantity of silk stuffs, does not, perhaps, consume the twentieth part of that which Lord Sheffield means by Indian silks.

† This commerce will be better established by land—The risks there will be less—The great rivers which water those immense countries will favour it. A maritime commerce must be protected by a naval force, and the nature of things will hinder the Americans from having one for a long time to come.

It is known that wretched individuals, who vegetate in South-America, masters and slaves, all fight after nothing but luxury, pomp and dress. Elegant and shining stuffs of France; her silks and laces will therefore be sought after, demanded, and bought up with avidity.

However it may be with respect to this commerce, which exists but in futurity, and which must be preceded by other circumstances; there is at present a certain consumption of silks, ribbons, &c. in the United States; and the French ought to be anxious to supply them.

I will observe upon this subject, that if the French government ordered that the regular packet-boats going from France and America should receive as much merchandize on board as their destination would permit, little ventures of our silks, stuffs, ribbons, gauzes, stockings, &c. would be frequently sent out, and these articles would serve better than any other to establish uninterrupted connexions, and which by the insight they give, and the experiments which they afford an opportunity of making, conduct nature herself to those great commercial intercourse to which we ought to aspire.

The facilities which packet-boats offer for the sending out of merchandize of value and of little incumbrance ought not to be neglected, since, in this class of merchandize, we have things which have a decided preference. I will return to those packet-boats which it is important to keep up and to increase, and it is to be wished, that no monopoly of right or fact may take possession of them, in order to carry one branch of commerce in exclusion of others.

SECTION VII.

Hats.

Although a fine hat be called a beaver, it does not follow that Canada and the United Northern States are more favourable to the fabrication of hats than France. Hats, purely of beaver, do not wear well, and are inconvenient on account of their weight. The finest, handsomest, and best hats, contain but little of the fur of that animal, which we esteem at too high a price, when we think of the loss of Canada. Wool, the furs of the hares and rabbits; the hair of goats, which, in fact, is wool, and camels hair, are more necessary for making of hats than the fur of beavers.

The few hats made of beaver in the United States will be sufficient for their consumption.—The Americans must, however, be incessantly told this great truth, that manufactures are not proper for them except in those articles which are immediately associated with agriculture, and which facilitate its operations. That of hats is not of this kind.

Europe will therefore furnish hats to the Americans. And of what great importance is this object, when the rapid increase of their population is considered? It may be affirmed, that every nation capable of sending them out merchandize, will send them hats; but those of France will have the preference. This manufacture had there its origin. The French alone have carried it elsewhere, like many other things; but it has never ceased to improve in France.

French hats are always the best fulled and dyed, and the most agreeable. When government shall have resolved to do for wools that which it has done for mulberry trees, the manufacture of hats will be so much the more advantageous, as we shall be less tributary

tributary to foreigners for the articles employed therein.

SECTION VIII.

Leather.

Shoes, Boots, Saddles, &c.

To what cause ought the great superiority of English leather to be attributed over ours? Why is there in this leather-work of all kinds that neatness, that seducing appearance, which we have not yet approached? It must be repeated, that in England men honour the profession of a tanner, and pride themselves upon it, whilst it is the contrary in France. An English tanner, shoemaker, or saddler, does not quit his trade when he is rich; but makes his riches serve, in proportion as they augment, to give lustre to his profession, to multiply his workshops, to extend his affairs, to become important even in the article which has furnished him the means of doing it. The leather which comes from the tanneries whose owner is in easy circumstances, is always well prepared, because he can advance sums of money, and give to hides the time necessary for their progress through his tan-yard. A poor tanner is always pressed by his wanting to take the leather out of the tan-pit, where it is necessary it should remain a long time to acquire a good quality. In general, it is impossible with this penury, unknown to the English, that there should be time to manufacture or fabricate good merchandize. Those who employ the leather, acquire no reputation in their professions but in proportion to great provisions made before hand, which puts it in their power to furnish nothing but leather improved by being kept. It will be asked, how the wholesale dealers manage when they begin business? They find credit, if in their apprenticeships,

ships, which precede their establishments, they have acquired a good reputation.*

This credit is then supported, not only by the certainty of success, but also by that of seeing them become a constant means of consumption.

Such is the art of the English to support and increase their commerce in every thing, and every where. If we could put it in practice, all our commodities of leather would soon equal the perfection of theirs, since we do not otherwise want materials. Their being beforehand with us, ought not to discourage any body; but it is necessary to the success of this rivalry, that government should deliver the tanners from the shackles with which they have fettered

* We may readily perceive, that this hope of being some day well established with great succours, is worth all the books of morality. The engravings of Hogarth, which represent the fate of the idle apprentice, paint, to the life, English manners. The intention of the workman is not to become *SECRETAIRE DU ROI*.|| He marries the daughter of the good master who has brought him up, and succeeds him in the same business which he has contributed to extend.

It is not that the French tanner, who barter his profession against a brevet of *Secrétaire du Roi*, or commissary of war, ought to be blamed. He reasons well. He sees that no consideration is attached to talents and industry, and he delays not to buy himself a title. It is therefore wrong to joke merchants and artisans, who, for money, get themselves enregistered in a privileged class. It is an evil to the state, but it is not the fault of those who purchase. The fault is due to the kind of disgrace from which government has not yet delivered the ignoble.

It ought to be observed here, how fatal the speculation which established this order of things has been to the nation. To procure money, offices were created; which, by ennobling, induces the ignoble to purchase them; they are disgusted with their situation by being dishonoured, and for a few millions of livres, which this pitiful operation slowly procures, commerce is ruined by having its capital diminished: that commerce, which, by being supported, would continually produce millions to the state.

|| A petty title of bought distinction, which, in the language of ridiculous pride, is construed into nobility.

tered them,* and suppress or diminish the enormous duties with which the tanneries are loaded.†

K 2

SECTION

* Two causes have singularly contributed to ruin the tanneries in France. The considerable duties imposed successively upon leather (suppressed afterwards in part through prudence) and essentially the severe inspection that the *commis* (in this case a kind of exciseman) may make every hour of the day and night at the tanners. Nothing disgusts a man, who has some energy, more with his profession, than this disgraceful servitude, than the fear, than the constraint which arises from the idea of being disturbed at every moment, by his fire-side, by contemptible satellites who live on the mischief only which they do, and whom the certainty of impunity, interest and habitude, renders unmerciful, insolent, and frequently perjured.

Considerable processes have been seen to arise from these visits, and very rich tanners to quit a profession which promised them nothing but torment, anguish, loss and law suits. It will be a long time before the evil which the farm has done to the tanneries be repaired. Interested men, who think to console us for real evils, which we suffer, by those which they suppose among our neighbours, say and repeat, that the same vexation of *commis* and of customs produces in England the same effects. This may sometimes happen; but there is a law to punish them, without a hope of pardon, when they overleap the boundaries prescribed to them. And these boundaries are much more contracted than ours, which the following fact will convince us.

Two officers of the excise, having taken it into their heads to follow a man carrying a hamper of wine to the house of a particular person, entered with him in contempt of the law; the master of the house called some constables and charged them with the officers: they were taken before Alderman Hamett, who read the Act of Parliament to the culprits, and sent them to prison, for having violated the rights of citizens.

Mercure politique 1786, p. 286.

† The following is a list of duties paid on leather, whether it be French or foreign; and it must be here observed, that the leather of France is far from supplying our wants. We get the greatest part of that which we consume from the Spa-

SECTION IX.

Glass Houses.

English glass ware is brought to great perfection, and England makes it a great object of exportation.

America

nish and Portuguese colonies, from the Levant, and from the coast of Barbary.

Green leather, French or foreign, pays on livres sols
entering the kingdom by the hundred weight 1 5

Leather worked up or tanned, pays afterwards the following duties

Leather and skins - 2 s. per pound

Goat skins - 4

Ten sols per pound, which gives more upon leather - 1

Goat skins - 2

General average - 4 6

and by the hundred weight - 22 10

Custom to the general farm - 2 0

Total 25 15

Leather and skins pay a duty of a third of their value.

When in 1759 a duty was imposed, the king ordained that these two sols upon leather and skins, and the four sols upon goat skins, should be reimbursed to the manufacturer, when he should have sent his merchandize abroad.

But administration demanded and obtained leave to reimburse two-thirds only.

Since that time there has been a new impost of ten sols per pound, which makes the duty one sol more upon leather, and two sols upon goat skins.

This new duty has completed the ruin of the tanneries.

There is another abuse, which merits to be observed. It is that the administration receives its duties undiminished upon leather half rotten, scraped or tanned.

After these facts, it may be comprehended, that the tanners in France are reduced to a small number, and are in general miserable.

An important note relative to the article of leather.

The note on the duties paid on leather, is true with respect to the reality of the duties; but we have been convinced, since

America ought to prefer English glass to ours, because we ourselves prefer it to that of our own manufactory, common bottles excepted, which we make better, and which are of a finer glass than that of the English. But although this opinion may hurt the interest of those who have such establishments, it is necessary to say, that France, far from encouraging them, ought to wish for their destruction. This kind of manufacture destroys combustibles, of which the rapid progress is alarming, when it is compared to the slowness with which they are produced.

The English, seated upon their coal mines, are little uneasy about the voracity of furnaces wherein glass is melted; but although it be said that we have the same advantage, it is still permitted to doubt of it. And moreover it is not sufficient to have immense coal mines under foot, it is necessary to be able to work them at a little expence. Glass manufactories, placed within the reach of mines, should not be too far distant from the sea, for the transports becoming expensive, would give to the English an advantage over us, who, from every part of their island, can easily get to the sea. Finally, our own consumption of glass-ware, much greater than that of the English, may already be too considerable, if it be compared with the means to which the ever growing scarcity of combustibles reduces us.*

K 3.

To

the note was printed, that a middle price cannot be settled between hides and calf and goat skins. There are at least two hundred of the two first for one of the last. We have been equally convinced, that the hundred weight of skins bought at thirty-seven livres, and sold after the tanning at sixty-four livres sixteen sols, produces to the tanner a profit of no more than five livres five sols.

This easily explains how the tanners have been ruined.

TRANSLATOR.

* The scarcity of wood, which begins to be manifest, becomes so much the more alarming, as combustibles which have been attempted to be substituted for it have not succeeded, and

To be fully convinced that we ought not to put glass-ware into the list of articles of exportation to America, it is only necessary to reflect upon the situation of the United States. They have immense forests to clear, consequently it is highly proper that they should establish glass manufactories, and increase them as much as possible. The labour employed to destroy the woods for the clearing of lands, at the same time that it disposes the land to culture, will serve for the production of a very extensive object of manufacture, therefore the utility of this destruction is double to the Americans.* It cannot be doubted, that this consideration will strike them, that they will one day conceive the project of furnishing Europe with glass-ware, of adding this article to those which they can exchange for such European productions as are improper for little states to cultivate or manufacture within themselves. It can be no more doubted, that France will gain greatly by seeing her glass manufactories destroyed by those of the Americans, who will sell us glass-ware in exchange for our wines, cloths, printed linens, silks, &c. In the mean time, it would undoubtedly be a salutary measure, to open the kingdom to the importation of foreign glass.

SECTION.

that luxury and population naturally inclined to increase, especially with commerce, the consumption of combustibles will be doubled.

* This is what is done in New-Jersey for the forges. It is, impossible, says the author of the *CULTIVATEUR AMERICAIN*, to travel across this province without meeting with some little iron forges. If a proprietor has a great marsh full of wood, and that he wishes to clear it, he begins by making a dyke at one extremity to stop the water of the rivulets which run across it. He fixes in this water the wheels necessary for the manufacture of iron, &c. And in a small number of years the traveller, who had seen in passing by nothing but a vast pond full of trees thrown down, and had heard the noise of hammers and anvils, sees well inclosed fields, vast meadows, &c.

SECTION X.

Iron and Steel.

The consumption of these two articles is immense in the United States; the single article of nails amounts to considerable sums. This will not appear extraordinary, when it is remembered, that all the houses, all the inclosures of the Americans, are of wood, that they build a great number of ships, which require frequent reparations.

It is the same with respect to saws, shovels, hoes, and in general all the instruments necessary to agriculture and navigation.

The Americans are singularly curious in the choice of the first necessity. They have therein the general taste of the English; they will have that only which is good. On comparing those which they make themselves with the tools made in France, it must be acknowledged that we are far from that perfection at which they are arrived in them: this perfection is owing to the ease of the labourer, and to the consideration attached to agriculture. Imperfection is a necessary consequence of restraint and dishonour.

The Americans have attempted to make iron and steel. Many manufactories have been set up at New-York, in New-Jersey, and in Pennsylvania: it is true that these manufactures are few in number, but they will necessarily increase for the reasons which I shall hereafter give.

England heretofore exported a considerable quantity of iron and steel:* her mines not having yet furnished

* To favour the exportation of these articles, the parliament had forbidden all the establishment of mills and other machines in the United States for making of steel. See 25 Geo. II ch. 29. sect. 10.

It may be judged by this circumstance to what a point the

nished iron proper for certain instruments, she had recourse to those of Russia, and especially to those of Sweden, whose iron and steel are most esteemed. She did no more with regard to America than stand between her and others, and this circuit augmented the expences of the colonist, without procuring him any benefit. This will exist no longer, because the Americans are about to trade directly with the Swedes and Russians.

Lord Sheffield calculates, that one year with another England imported 50,000 tons of foreign iron, of which from 15 to 20,000 was afterwards exported to the colonies either in its natural state or worked up.

The profit to the mother country was, according to his Lordship, 12,000,000 *livres*, or thereabouts.

During the war, and since the peace, some exports of this kind have been made from France to the United States; but they did not succeed. Accustomed, according to the principles of monopolizers, who have hitherto directed our foreign commerce, to furnish our colonies with brittle utensils, and otherwise very imperfect, our merchants were willing to treat the independent Americans like their slaves in their islands;* and the Americans refused our merchandise.

mother country, or rather the monopolizers, can carry avariciousness; since the Americans were forbidden to enjoy those advantages which nature had thrown before them. Monopoly respects nothing. When these attempts are considered, ought we to be surprised at the eternal misunderstanding between colonies and the mother country, a misunderstanding which finishes either by the ruin of the former, or their separation from the latter?

* The Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles, in an instruction very well drawn up, addressed in 1784 to the merchants, had recommended them to act contrarily—"Recollect," said it, "that you have not ignorant or enslaved colonists to treat with, but a free people; and, consequently, rapidly tending to perfection. If you wish to succeed, act with fidelity, upon extended and liberal views," &c. &c.

I have not read this instruction. A man of letters, who has,

dise. They said, that we did not even know how to make nails; and, in strict truth, they were right in their assertion. They preferred the iron and steel of England, although the duties on exportation increased their dearness.

It is probable enough that the English legislature will suppress them according to the advice of Lord Sheffield; and this, joined to the benefit of the economy procured by the discovery of Lord Dundonald, and of Messrs. Watts and Boulton, for heating furnaces at half the common expence, will undoubtedly produce a reduction in the price of iron.

This diminution is one of the causes which must necessarily hinder us from attempting a rivalry in this particular with the English; but there is another, which is still more decisive.

In fact, the observations made heretofore upon the necessity of destroying our glass manufactories, apply naturally to that considerable branch of iron-work, of which the workmanship is the least expence, and which requires a great quantity of combustible materials. The United States are obliged to destroy their immense forests: France ought, on the contrary, to think of re-producing hers: therefore, the founderies and forges will offer in America the advantage of turning to profit woods, which, without these manufactures, it would be equally necessary to burn: whilst in France, wood and charcoal becoming every day more scarce and dear, renders these establishments more expensive. Now, as the abundance in which iron mines are every where
found,

resided a long time in the country, has given me the ideas of it, which I have related. We must not be surprised to find in the merchants of Marseilles intelligence ON COMMERCE SO RARE ANY WHERE ELSE. Less shackled, commerce must offer more solid ideas.

The same energy is found in an excellent Memorial on the Franchises of this city, lately published against the general farms, and of which we shall have occasion to speak.

found,* makes the price of iron depend almost entirely on that of combustibles necessary to melt it, it is evident that the United States have over us, and even over the English, a considerable advantage.

Moreover, forges are a part of the equipage necessary to country labour; for, if it were necessary to seek at a distance the utensils of agriculture, the progress of clearing of lands would soon be stopped—the productions would not pay the expences: These would still be increased by the repeated necessity of substituting new utensils to those which there would be no means of repairing. As soon as the people have mines of iron—as soon as they are led by the nature of things, and by necessity, to establish founderies and forges, it is not a long time before they renounce all foreign aid in the articles of iron;† therefore, the Americans are, as I have observed, already provided with these establishments: and as English industry has established and directed them, they are all at that degree of perfection which we have not yet attained.

Let it be remarked, that these manufactures being joined to a life of agriculture, and carried on in the midst of it for its uses, can have none of the pernicious influences which ought to be feared in those complicated manufactures which are obliged to be concentrated in the inclosures of cities, whose destructive

* It is now proved, that there are many of them in America. Mines of tin, and of very good copper, have also been discovered there.

† Perhaps nails must be excepted. Their price will be a long time in Europe lower than in America. If, as Mr. Smith asserts in his Treatise on the Wealth of Nations, a young man of twenty years of age can make 2,400 nails a day, let it be judged to what a degree of cheapness low priced workmanship ought to reduce them; therefore, wherever workmanship is dear, nails cannot be made. Yet we read in the American Gazettes, that there has been established in one of the States a manufacture of nails. Will this succeed?—Futurity will shew us.

destructive employ exhausts the natural strength of men, by corrupting their morals.

Therefore, to resume this article—far from encouraging the exportation of iron manufactured in France, we ought, for our own interest, to encourage the importation of foreign iron, because manufactures of this kind take away combustibles from things more pressingly wanted, and from less destructive manufactures, where workmanship produces a greater profit.

This, however, is not the case with every article of curiosity of iron, steel, or copper work, wherein the workmanship exceeds the other expences. They belong to that weak organization which the Americans ought not to envy. But it must not be dissimulated, that a competition with the English will, on this head, be difficult to maintain: their great ability and address in the distribution of work and different processes, the invention of which has not been constrained by any error* or false view of the administration

* Those false views cannot be too much deplored—those narrow ideas—those fears of ignorance, which snatch from the hands of industry the happy inventions which are proper to enrich a whole nation! Who can calculate the riches that England owes to the sole application of the coining-mill, or engine and dye, whose free use has been left to all the manufactures which it was capable of improving in accelerating their effects? How many proceedings more ingenious and expeditious has this machine produced? Happily for England, there have not been found in her bosom those able ministers, who, seeing that this machine is of use in making money, have drawn from it the profound consequence that every one would make false money if the free use of it were permitted: as if it was possible to make false money for a long time; as if the more general use of the machine did not awaken the public, and even private interest, and render them more attentive to abuses which might be committed; as if its use would not produce much more benefit to the revenue, than it could deprive it of by the false coinage of money, which can never be either extensive or dangerous.—When, therefore, will those who hold the reins of empire calculate like statesmen?

stration of England, give them over us a considerable advantage; yet it is not impossible for us to balance it, for this distribution of work and proceedings are neither secrets nor superior to French industry. Let government adopt and follow the trivial maxim—‘Who will have the end will find the means.’ Let it in consequence not interdict any of the means, and this industry will not have to envy the success of our rivals.

SECTION

It is true that at present artists are permitted to have mills, &c. by conforming themselves to certain formalities,—always formalities? No other are required in England than those of being able to pay the expence of the machine,—and has England perceived from it any pernicious effects? Has false money overturned public order, impoverished the nation, or diminished her revenues?

With what difficulty has the invention of the coining-mill made its way into France? It is due to an industrious Frenchman of the fifteenth century, named Briois. Persecuted for this discovery, he was obliged to take refuge in England; the English received him favourably, and put his invention into execution. Another Frenchman of the name of Warin, of the last century, wished to procure the advantages of it to his countrymen; he experienced a like absurd persecution; and without the support of the Chancellor Sequier, he would have failed in his attempt.—I do not allow myself to speak of the perfection to which M. Droz pretends to have brought the coining mill at present; but by the vexations he suffers, it may be judged that he has in fact simplified that machine, that he has rendered fewer hands necessary, and the coinage of money more perfect and expeditious; two advantages very precious in this art, as the expences of it cannot be too much reduced, and the exactitude and perfection of the stamp of money are the surest means of disconcerting coiners. What fatal genius is it therefore which pursues industry in France? That of companies, of corporations, of privileges. As soon as a happy discovery attacks their profits, they employ even the basest means to defend them; intrigue, falsehood, seduction, are all legitimate with the people which compose those associations; whilst the man of genius, standing alone for the most part, and who attaches too great a value to his time to prostitute it to these manœuvres, generally experiences the most humiliating disgusts.

SECTION XI.

Jewellery, Gold and Silversmiths' Articles, Clock-work, &c.

If the inhabitants of the United States concentrate their labours and pleasure in a life of husbandry; if they continue to seek happiness, not in pomp, but in nature herself, and in a simplicity of manners; in that simplicity which naturally produces ease, and the population and prosperity of states; they will not seek after, but disdain plate and jewels, to which we attach so great a price. They will reserve precious metals for mints and commerce. It is not, however, to be presumed, that this order of things should long subsist in great cities, and especially in frequented ports; European taste and wants prevail in America,* and French industry ought to be anxious to supply their consumption, seeing that the French can undersell the English in these articles.

But it is probable that the plated ware (copper plated with silver) invented in England will take place in the United States of that of silver plate, as painted paper has replaced there much more expensive hanging; this new sort of plate has for use all the advantages of the other, and costs a great deal less.

How comes it that the English are already so advanced in this branch of industry, whilst there exists in France but one or two manufactures where copper is plated on one side only, and silvered over on the other? How have the English already carried this invention to so high a degree of perfection? How have they made of it a matter of extensive commerce,

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whilst

* Plate is used in the Southern States—magnificence is seen there; on which account, travellers having but little philosophy, speak highly of them:—but observe what is attached to this luxury,—slavery reigns in the South, and there are many poor.—There are none in the Northern States,—no plate is there used.

whilst we are reduced to the two manufactures wherein no progress is seen, and where the inferiority of the workmanship disgusts those who would otherwise find it to their advantage to make use of this kind of plate?

These manufactures have an exclusive privilege: there is the word—Government fearing lest false money might be made in them, has forbidden even the plating on both sides.

Reasoning would here be superfluous: it is sufficient to open the eyes to see which of the two administrations has best served its country; whether it be that of England, by not cramping industry, and in not giving way to fears, whose illusion is shewn by the most trifling observation, or ours, in following a contrary plan. Again, was it apprehended, that counterfeit crowns would be made by millions; as a sacrifice is made to this fear of an industry which would certainly produce many millions of them?

Thus, when we consider all these articles, wherein trifling considerations shall be our industry, and condemn to mediocrity our means of prosperity; when we thence turn our attention towards the different spirit which governs England, it is astonishing that industry still exists in France, and that the nation does not fall into sloth, and remain there. Let us give thanks unto nature, who has richly gifted us, and her guardian strength has hitherto demonstrated itself superior to the malignant influence of the false science of our administrators.*

Shall

* A curious and more useful work would be, a faithful and more rational history of all the errors into which the rage of regulating and prohibiting has thrown administration. It is very probable that the result would be, that French commerce has always prospered, in proportion to the inexecution of regulations; that in causing them to be rigorously executed, foreign commerce has been favoured and enriched. The spirit of invention and industry which our prohibitory regimen has

Shall we remain behind the English and Swiss in clock-work? The Americans must have watches; this admirable invention carries with it such a degree of utility for even the poor classes of society, that it ought not to be considered as a simple acquisition of luxury, especially in the United States, where the distance of habitations one from another makes the necessity of it most fully perceived.

But watches must be made good and at a cheap rate; these two conditions will assure them a prodigious sale wherever civilization exists; time is there a precious property, and its price renders the instrument necessary which divides it: they will be made good and at a cheap rate, when able artists are consulted.*

This species of manufacture will always belong to great cities, where the excess of population keeps workmanship at a low price, where the difficulty of subsisting enslaves that crowd of weak and indolent beings which are under the law of the rich under-

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taker.

developed on foreign nations, was never perhaps suspected; neither the innumerable quantity of workshops which are there constructed, in proportion to the multiplication of exclusive privileges in France. Thus, that of the India Company has made Switzerland like the East-Indies, for the manufacture of muslins, and plain and painted linens.

* Paris has produced some very distinguished ones; they honoured their art because they had great sense and ingenuity, and had been well instructed; but their pupils, for the most part strangers, and not having the same means of gaining consideration, were afraid of our injudicious manner of despising the hands which work at mechanical employments, and quitted the country. We have at present a Swiss, M. Brequet, whose talents are equal, if not superior, to those of the most celebrated English watch-makers. Happily for us, his character, his elevated views, his obliging zeal, command respect in some measure, and place him above prejudices. Let government consult him, and he will soon indicate certain means whereby France may have a national manufacture of clock and watch-work.

We are informed that he has presented to the Ministry a profound memorial upon this subject.

taker. The United States are far from suffering this difficulty of subsistence; this excess of population; they are therefore far from these manufactures.

SECTION XII.

Different Sorts of Paper, stained Paper, &c.

This useful production from old rags, thrown off by people at ease, and gathered with care by the indigent, is daily improved in France.* The English themselves buy our paper for printing, and our writing

* The manufactory of M. M. Johannot d'Aunonay, produces finer paper than any other manufactory in Europe, and the proof is simple.—There is more demand from Russia, England, and Holland, for this paper than the manufacturer can furnish; this scarceness of paper d'Aunonay explains, for why, our shopkeepers still get paper from Holland. To diminish this scarcity, these good citizens have generously offered to communicate their process to all the manufacturers of paper in the nation, and even to form schools, wherein the art of paper-making may be taught. Many persons have profited by these offers; the states of Burgundy have lately sent three pupils.—These manufacturers have proved that it was not more expensive to make good and excellent paper than that of a middling quality. M. Le Clerc, who has a great paper manufactory at Essone, found with concern that his manufactory cost him a great deal, and produced bad paper only: he communicated his regret to M. Johannot; the latter went to Essone and produced good paper with common paste. This was certainly a great service done to France, and a good example given to the sordid avarice of monopolizers, who, not being able to do and embrace every thing, hinder others from doing it. May these generous patriots receive that honour which they deserve: may their example be followed every where and by all. This will be to them a more flattering eulogium, a more brilliant and lasting recompense than cordons and ribbons, unworthy of true merit, because they are frequently the price of intrigue, and the ornament of mediocrity. The pleasure of well-doing, and the suffrages of honest men, are pure and unchangeable recompenses.—The artist who does not know how to confine himself to these, will never do any thing which is great.

ing paper will not be long unequal to theirs, if it does not surpass it.*

But if there be an object of commerce for which Europeans need not fear a reciprocal competition; if there be an article which offers to all European manufactures a certain and lucrative employ, it is that of paper: the consumption will always be equal at least to the production, and its numerous uses insure a still greater consumption, in proportion as population, commerce, and knowledge, shall increase.

Every nation ought therefore to observe without jealousy, that each country strives to have within itself manufactures of this kind.

The Americans cannot however enjoy this advantage for a long time to come: besides the dearness of workmanship, their population cannot furnish them old rags in quantities sufficient to establish paper mills whose productions would be equal to the consumption of the inhabitants.

Will their population ever furnish them with this sufficiency? This is a question difficult to resolve. In fact, in proportion to the knowledge which nations may acquire, and to the liberty of the press, which may be enjoyed in America, a prodigious quantity of paper must be consumed there; but can the population of this country produce rags in the same proportion? It cannot reasonably be hoped that it will. It is therefore probable that the American markets will not for a long time be provided with any other than European paper, and that this will find a place there.†

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* Rags are more scarce, and consequently dearer, in England than in France, and they are articles of illicit commerce between the two countries. There are very severe laws against this commerce; but it is, and ever will be, carried on, as long as there shall be any thing to be gained by it.

† Rags are excessively dear in America: but the time is arriving when, by an increase of population, they will become plenty. In Pennsylvania they already make very good paper.

But since the use of paper is so advantageous to men, since it is so varied, it behoves every nation to look upon foreign consumption as a supplement only, as an open port in the case of a suspension of interior commerce. It behoves every nation to keep paper at a moderate price within itself, and to attain this end, means must be thought of to increase materials which serve to compose this article, and to pursue the happy attempts already made to do it.* These researches are so much the more essential, so much the more urgent, as the happy invention of coloured paper for hanging is of a nature always to cause a greater consumption of paper; and this manner of hanging with paper will subsist for a long time,

* In the moment of writing this note, I have before me very interesting essays on vegetables, and on the bark of several trees, to transform them into paper; these essays are due to the researches of M. Delille, to whose care the manufacture of Montargis is indebted for a great part of its reputation. He has far surpassed that Scheffer, whom our men of erudition have quoted with so much emphasis. On seeing the books which M. Delille has printed, on paper made from a species of mallows, and the bark of the linden tree; and on perceiving the advantages which might be reaped from this invention, at least in packing and stained paper, of which so great a consumption is made; we wish that this invention may be more and more known, received and adopted, as a means of remedying the want of rags and the dearth of paper, which ought to have more influence than is commonly believed on the progress of knowledge.

It is almost impossible that this invention should not soon become general, and it is greatly the interest of the free Americans to naturalize it among them.

Strong lies of lime and pot-ash, and the intelligent use of vitriolic acid, are great means of reducing hemp and flax to that kind of substance extremely attenuated, soft and brittle, which is proper for making of paper. It might be contrived by these means to supply the want of rags by old cordage. These would even serve to make good paper, since being reduced to tow, it may easily be bleached. The attenuation to be feared for linen is not so for the material of which paper is made.

time, because it gives a neat and agreeable appearance to apartments.

No other is known in the United States; it is there universal; almost all the houses are neat and decent.

SECTION XIII.

Printing.

The liberty of the press being a fundamental principle of the American constitution, there can be no doubt that printing will increase there. But it must be observed, that extensive printing requires workmen at a little expence; that is to say, men without property, talents, or conduct; whom great cities produce and employ in work which requires neither intelligence nor emulation; and it has already been observed, that the United States, unless the rage of great cities takes possession of them, will contain but few of these wretched beings.

Printing will not, therefore, it may be presumed, be extended among the free Americans, at least beyond that which is necessary for the public prints.* Their constant and considerable sale, permitting a greater expence in workmanship, consequently draws about the press many individuals, because they have, in a good salary, a view of the means of becoming proprietors or traders.†

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* Gazettes are singularly multiplied in the United States. They will become still more so with an increase of population, and this is an advantage, for they are what that excellent patriot, Dr. Jebb, called them, "Centinels which watch over public liberty and the preservation of truth."

† However, considerable works are sometimes printed in the United States, and of which the edition is carefully enough corrected. I have seen, for instance, the Memoirs, in quarto, of the Academies of Boston and Philadelphia, of the last year, which proves at the same time that free America is not so totally without typographical establishments, and that the inhabitants are not all such idiots as a prejudiced German dreamed they were.

The furnishing of books of science and amusement must therefore make a considerable object of importation into the United States. It is for France to appropriate to herself this commerce, and to encourage the impression of English books. Our workmanship being cheaper than that of England, and the English making use of our paper, our binding being less expensive, why should not all the books in which the Americans stand in need of be printed in France?

It will be said that we do not enjoy the liberty of the press,—be it so:—But it is only with respect to our books;* for undoubtedly the administration does not pretend to extend its coercive principles to books written in foreign languages; it would not attain its end, seeing that it does not do it with respect to French books;† and by this impolitical rigour

* Under the reign of Louis XIV. whose ambition extended to every thing, it was seriously attempted to make the French language universal. This absurd pretension was ridiculously supported by the tyranny exercised upon books and authors. This tyranny could not but produce bad ones, and consequently disgust strangers. Happily some judicious men had the courage to make sacrifices, and to get their works printed abroad. It is these prohibited books which have enriched the French language and increased the reputation of French literature. What authors are heard quoted in every country? Rousseau, Voltaire, Helvetius, Montesquieu, &c. that is to say, men who have been patriotic enough to violate the tyrant's laws of the press.

† So that even more than half of the libraries in France are composed of French books, printed abroad, for which there are two causes—the cheapness and goodness of the books; the octavo leaf printed, is commonly sold in Switzerland to the public at nine deniers or a sol, and it costs three or four sols in France. Prohibited books are sold at Paris at the same price as books permitted, which proves the dearness of French printing.—For to the original price of prohibited books, there must be added the expences of carriage, risks of entry, the commissions of different agents, &c. With respect to the goodness of the works, the best, as I have already observed, are printed abroad.

gour France would be deprived of a lucrative article of commerce, certain, and of continual increase.

The Dutch, so active and vigilant in seizing the rising branches of commerce, have for a long time speculated on books in the United States: many bibles and books of prayer, for the use of the Americans, are printed in Holland. Lord Sheffield is obliged to acknowledge, that printing in Holland is by far more cheap than that of England, and of course must have the preference. They will some day extend this commerce to classical books.*

SECTION XIV.

Salt.

This article, so necessary to the Americans, and so abundant in France, must not be forgotten in the enumeration of commodities to be imported into America. The Americans will for a long time be obliged to get it from Europe; not that they have no salt marshes upon the coasts, and salt pits in the interior parts of the country; but these marshes, these salt pits, must have hands to work them; and hands are better employed in the United States.† The salt exported

Helvetius has said with reason, "ON NE DIT LA VERITE, QUE DANS LES LIVRES, PROHIBES, ON MENT DANS LES AUTRES."

* A man of letters, who had remarked the dearth of English books in France, and how difficult it was to get them from England, thought of getting the best English works re-printed in Paris. This was a speculation really patriotic—he abandoned it after having got a few volumes re-printed, probably because the consumption in France was not great enough, and that of England was not open to him. He might at present revive it; independent America presents a great opening to him.

† Salt, during the late war, was very dear in America; it was worth twenty times its ordinary price.—The deprivation of this article was very sensibly felt by the Americans, who consume much salted provision, and give a great quantity of salt to their cattle.

ported from Europe will for this reason be a long time cheaper than that of America:—moreover, its freight will cost but little, as vessels from Europe may be ballasted with it. The Americans ought to give the preference to French salt; it is less sharp, less corrosive, and possesses a better quality for salting, than any other European salt.

The three millions of inhabitants which the United States contain at present, are supposed to consume sixty million pound weight of salt, without reckoning that which is given to cattle, and that employed in salting provisions; of which great quantity is consumed in the United States, and with which they will carry on a commerce more and more considerable: I will not at present go into a calculation of the immense riches which the furnishing of made salt to foreign population, continually increasing, would produce to France. I ought to guard against exaggerations: but it may not be improper to observe, that a considerable part of the States of the North will never make any salt. It is therefore possible that French salt may have a preference among them, as being cheaper and more within their reach: the population of these states will be more rapid than that of the others, and the commerce more varied and extensive.

SECTION XV.

General Considerations on the Catalogue of French Importations into the United States.

I will extend no further the list of articles which French commerce may furnish to the United States: there are many others which I omit, because the bounds of my work will not permit me to examine any more than the principal ones.

If faith be given to the calculations of Lord Sheffield, and of other political writers, it appears that
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the amount of the exportations of Great-Britain into free America was, upon an average, calculated upon three years, taken before 1773, near three millions sterling, upwards of seventy-two millions of livres tournois. How much will it increase in following the progression of population, and clearing of lands? It is especially for this future state of things that France ought to prepare her means.

Let it be also observed, that this commerce employed seven or eight hundred vessels, and about ten thousand sailors.

Ought France to let slip so important a commerce, and a means so natural of supporting her marine? For without commerce there can be no marine. Has not she, in the richness of her soil, in a variety of her manufactures, in the low price of her workmanship, in the industry and taste of her inhabitants, in her population, and in the situation of her ports, an infinity of means sufficient to establish in America a solid and extensive commerce? It must be continually repeated, that if it be wished that peace should reign upon the earth, the words *preference and competition*, which are frequently signals of discord, must be used with circumspection. Why should there be any jealousy with respect to this commerce? In the course of time independent America will offer a field wide enough for all the European manufactures.

CHAPTER VI.

*Of the Articles which Independent America may furnish
in return for Importations from France.*

ARRIVED at this part of my work, I cannot do better than consign to it the letter addressed by M. de Calonne to Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America.

LETTER

*Addressed to M. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary from
the United States of America to the Court of France.*

Fontainebleau, 22d October, 1786.

SIR,

The King's intention being to favour as much as possible the commerce of the United States, I have the honour to communicate to you some dispositions made for that purpose.

By a letter of the 9th of January, 1784, to the Marquis de la Fayette, I informed him, that instead of two free ports, promised by the treaty to the United States, the king had determined to grant them four, which has been effected; and I promised him to consider the customs and duties on importation and exportation which shackle commerce; observing to him, that these objects required considerable application; they have not yet been completed. By another letter I informed the Marquis, that his Majesty had suppressed the duties on the exportation of brandy, a measure which he hoped would be useful to American commerce; I assured him also, that the duties of the king and admiralty, payable by an American

American vessel on its arrival in a port of France, should be diminished; and afterwards that such of them as remained, should be reduced to a single duty, to be regulated according to the number of masts or draught of water, and not according to the two uncertain estimation of gauging. This reduction requires an exact knowledge of all the duties received in the ports, and as they are of various species, the state which I ordered to be drawn up of them has not yet been given in.

You know, Sir, the king has charged a particular committee, to examine our commercial connexions with the United States, and that the Marquis de la Fayette has laid before it a project analogous to the ideas contained in your letter to the Count de Vergennes: but you must perceive, how imprudent it would be to hazard, by a change of system, the produce of a branch of revenue, which amounts to twenty-eight millions of livres, without falling upon any object of the first necessity. After an ample discussion of every thing which might at present favour the importation of tobacco from America to France, it has been decreed, not that the agreement made with Mr. Morris should be departed from, but that, after the expiration of it, no other of the same import should be made; and that in the mean time the Farmers General should be obliged to purchase annually about fifteen thousand hogsheads of American tobacco, coming directly from the United States in French or American ships, at the same prices as stipulated in the contract made with Mr. Morris.

You will recollect, Sir, that whilst the demands which had been made for whale oil were under consideration, the Marquis de la Fayette made a private arrangement with M. Sangrain, permitting him to receive as much of that article as should amount to eight hundred thousand livres tournois, and that I had granted passports to exempt this first quantity

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from all duties whatsoever. M. Sangrain made afterwards an agreement with the merchants of Boston for whale oil, to the amount of four hundred thousand livres a year, for six years, for which his Majesty has promised the same favours as enjoyed by the Hanse towns.

This manner having lately been examined under a more general point of view, the administration, to which the committee has made its report conformable to the request of the Marquis de la Fayette, and to your opinion, relative to the entire abolition of all duties on oils, has discovered that it cannot consent to it for the present, on account of engagements entered into with other powers. All that could be done was to insure, for ten years, whale oil, spermaceti, and every thing comprehended under these denominations, coming from the United States in French or American ships, the same favours and moderation of duties as are enjoyed by the Hanse towns.

His Majesty hopes commercial connexions between the United States and France will become extensive enough to engage him to continue the effect of this provisory decision; and as it has been observed in the committee, that a considerable duty was paid upon the making of the most favoured whale oils, and even upon national ones, his Majesty consents to abolish this duty with respect to the former, and upon spermaceti coming immediately from the United States in French and American ships; so that spermaceti and these oils will have to pay, for ten years to come, no more than seven livres ten sols, and the ten sols per pound, for all manner of duty; the last augmentation of ten sols per pound to cease in 1790.

It has been determined to gain particular information upon the consumption in France of rice from Carolina, and that encouragement should be given to the exportation of that article.

Upon

Upon the representations which have been made, touching the considerable duties paid on the entry of pot ash and pearl ash, as well as relative to those of beaver skins and fur, and raw hides, his Majesty has suppressed all the duties on pot ash—on the fur and skins of beavers—and on hides, coming raw from the United States, on board American or French vessels. He will also consider of proper encouragements to be given to every article of the skin and fur trade.

His Majesty has equally consented to free from all duties, masts and yards of every species, red cedar, green oak, in short, all timber proper for the construction of vessels, coming from the United States in French or American ships.

The committee having also represented, that there was a duty of five per cent. upon the purchase of vessels built abroad, and that this duty was prejudicial to the sale of American vessels, his Majesty has taken this into his consideration, and exempted the purchase of all ships, which shall be proved to have been constructed in the United States, from every duty of the kind.

Trees, small shrubs, and seeds of trees also, pay high duties, which his Majesty has agreed to abolish upon such as shall be sent from the United States to France, on board French or American ships.

It having been represented, that the state of Virginia had ordered arms for its militia to be made in France, it has been determined, that the prohibitions which have hitherto hindered the exportation of arms and gunpowder, as well as the duties required in cases of particular permissions, should be abolished, and that whenever the United States shall wish to have from France, arms, fusils, and gunpowder, they shall have full liberty to do it, provided it be in French or American ships, and that those articles

shall be subject to a very moderate duty only, solely for the purpose of calculating the exportations.

Finally, his Majesty has received in the same favourable manner the demand made to the committee to suppress the considerable duties hitherto paid on books and paper of every kind. His Majesty suppresses all duties on articles of this kind, destined to the United States, and put into French or American vessels.

It is with pleasure, Sir, I announce to you these dispositions of his Majesty, which are a new proof to you of his desire to unite closely the commerce of the two nations, and of the favourable attention he will always give to propositions which shall be made to him in the name of the United States of America.

I have the honour to be, with a sincere attachment,
Sir,

Your very humble
and very obedient servant,
(Signed) DE CALONNE.

Your nation, Sir, will undoubtedly see, with pleasure, the facilities the king has just given to the exportation of the wines of Bourdeaux, Guienne, and Touraine, and the suppressions of duties granted to that effect, by different Arrêts of Council, with which the Marquis de la Fayette will be able to acquaint you.

EXPORTS

EXPORTS OF AMERICA.

I WILL treat but of a few of the articles which America furnishes, on account of the attention which they all merit.

SECTION I.

Tobacco.

Of all the articles which France may procure from the United States, tobacco is the most important one to the inhabitants of the two countries. If it cannot be classed with our most urgent necessities, it follows them so close, that excepting cases wherein the use of it excites disgust, the deprivation of it ordinarily discovers the last degree of misery.

We must not be surprised at its general use.—The man greedy of sensations has found one lively enough in tobacco: it is perhaps the only one which he can enjoy at pleasure without injuring his health, diminishing his strength, or suspending his work or meditations. Tobacco awakens the mind agreeably, and observers who have remarked the innocent pleasure, the species of instantaneous comfort, which a little tobacco procures to a poor man, borne down by the weight of affliction, have always wished that so simple an enjoyment should be improved and become less and less expensive; and they cannot reflect without horror on the crime of that fiscal industry, which, hardened by monopoly to increase its profits, adulterates snuff so much, as to make it pernicious to health.

The consumption of tobacco must therefore become more and more considerable, and the commerce of this leaf, already very important, cannot be decreased but by the diminution of its cultivation; which the policy of America will never permit.

The cultivation of tobacco is by no means proper for the European States, which have acquired population enough to apply another kind of cultivation to all their good lands.

It is true the Alsaciens cultivate a little tobacco, and they boast of it; but they would make a greater profit if they cultivated their lands for provisions. This experience is decisive for France, where none of those rich lands exist which are so well known in America. It is therefore the interest of France to get tobacco from abroad, but it must be paid for by her manufactures: she may enjoy this advantage more fully with free America than with any other country. I will not repeat the reasons of it; I will observe only, that the free Americans, having an immense extent of lands which cannot be cleared but in the course of several centuries, must have, for a long time to come, tobacco to send to Europe, since this production pays with usury the expences of clearing.

It is true, that the cultivation of tobacco in America must be farther and farther from the sea, and that the expences of carriage may become considerable.

But different considerations place this epocha at a distance; first, in cultivating tobacco in none but absolute new lands, the cultivation is much less expensive, and the produce considerably more abundant; consequently it will cost much less in a new soil than when the soil requires more labour and manure. Secondly, America, intersected in every direction by rivers and lakes, has infinite resources for rendering water carriage every where easy, and consequently never expensive. It is easy to multiply canals, and consequently communications: no part
of

of the world is so much favoured in this respect as America. Thirdly, The banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi offer immense lands to be cleared: the Ohio falls into the Mississippi, which falls in its turn into the sea: these two rivers are almost every where navigable, and the lands near them produce already excellent tobacco, and will continue to do so for a long time.* Fourthly, If the price of tobacco should be increased, France would not feel the difference, if the free Americans, preferring the culture, continued to want European manufactures, and gave the preference to those of France. According to this system, the exchange of merchandize, manufactured in France for the productions of the soil of America, may be still made with advantage, if even these productions were sold in France below the first cost in America. We have long seen the French commerce of the Levant produce great profits, although the merchandize brought in return was sold at a less price in France than it cost at the place where it was produced. This circumstance still exists.

Therefore the speculation, most to the interest of France, is to take as much tobacco as she can consume

* It is impossible to view, without indignation, that narrow policy of Spain, which would shut out the Americans from all communication with the sea by the Mississippi. How is it, that she cannot perceive, that her mercantile interest invites her, on the contrary, to favour this navigation, by erecting store houses upon the banks of this river near to its mouth? Is she ignorant of the advantages of depositories? And with respect to her political interest, is there a greater one for her in these countries, than to make herself immediately necessary to American establishments, within the reach of the Ohio? Must she wait till they adopt other means? What will be gained by creating discontent among a free people? If it be wished that these people should not become powerful, they must be destroyed; and if this barbarity belongs not to the eighteenth century, it is necessary to make friends of them. Expedients in politics are childish and vain.

fume from the Americans, and pay for it with her manufactures.*

SECTION II.

Fisheries, Whale Oil, &c. Spermaceti Candles.

Among the articles of subsistence which nature has liberally given to men, fish is one of the most abundant, the most easy to be procured, and the most proper to preserve their health and strength.† By what fatal privilege is this food confined in France almost to the rich? Why does not fish abound in all places, where this tribute of the sea can be received in its original state, and without being charged with the expences of two long a carriage? Since it is so well known, that it is advantageous to a state, and to every class of citizens, to procure an abundance, and a variety of eatables, let them come from where they will, or of whatever nature they be, provided they be cheap and wholesome: why is this political rule departed from, with respect to fish, to that ailment which nature produces every where with such fecundity? Whatever may be the motives which may repel it by an overcharge of duties, they can proceed from nothing but a culpable ignorance.

Fully convinced of the benefit which must result to mankind from an abundance of provisions, and from the facility of producing this abundance, in receiving from each nation the superfluity which nature has given it, I shall take great care not to copy the narrow system of Lord Sheffield with respect to fisheries.

* The tobacco leaf, of which the farmers general had the entire monopoly, or exclusive sale, produced to the king a clear nett revenue, annually, of between twenty-eight and twenty-nine millions of livres.

† Such is the powerful influence on population, of the abundance of articles of subsistence, and especially that of fish, that it is principally to this article of life that the empire of China owes the incredible number of its inhabitants.

fisheries. — His Lordship agrees, that the independent Americans have, for the great fishery, natural advantages, with which it is impossible for the Europeans to contend.

In fact, the Americans are near that part of the Atlantic where great fish abound; therefore their fishery must be less expensive to them. If accidents happen, they are soon repaired; all their operations are more prompt and sure; having a better knowledge of these seas, they are exposed to less risks than Europeans: finally, their proximity to the fisheries assures them provisions more fresh,* and puts it in their power to renew them more frequently; consequently their fishermen enjoy more constant health, and have older officers and sailors among them: these are inestimable advantages to America.

The English have very few of these advantages; the French scarcely any. — But ought we to conclude with Lord Sheffield, from this order of things, that American fish should be charged with duties, in order to support the national fishery, against this competition? the nature of things dictates to France more wise and advantageous means. — Fish is nourishing — whatever is nourishing is prolific: if the Americans fish at less expence than the French, so much the better for the last; fish will be more abundant, and at a lower price in France. Let France open her ports; the Americans will bring fish into them, and will pay themselves with either the productions of the soil of France, or of her industry; and the population to which this abundance and cheapness are favourable, will increase the productions of French industry.

Moreover,

* Such is the advantage of the Americans, that they furnish provisions to the sedentary fisheries of the English. According to Colonel Champion, the provisions of Europe are more dear, and not so good; the difference in favour of the Americans is in the proportion of four to seven; and it cannot be otherwise.

Moreover, it is necessary, either to renounce exterior commerce, or to consent that there shall be something to exchange on both sides. To wish to establish and encourage a commerce with a foreign nation, and not to leave it to the care of furnishing that which it collects with the greatest facility, is a manifest contradiction. The enlightened policy of commerce is not to invade all the branches of it, but to do nothing but that which can be done better and cheaper than any other. Therefore, since the Americans have fish on their coasts, since they are in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland, leave to their industry that branch which nature has given to them in preference; let us not dispute it with them: first, because it would be in vain to do it, and in the next place, because France may reap, without fishing, more advantageously the fruit of the American fisheries.

“But,” says Lord Sheffield, “sailors must be found for the navy; and the fisheries are the nurseries for them; therefore the fisheries must be supported; and no fish consumed but that which we take ourselves; on which account premiums are necessary.”

There is no doubt but sailors are formed in the fisheries, but it is not in throwing nets or hooks, in curing or preparing fish, that this is done; it is by a frequent and long exercise on board vessels in laborious manœuvres, in living, so to speak, among rocks, and in seas, which the vicinity or nearness of opposite coasts makes continually dangerous: now this exercise of vigilance, agility, and intelligence, is performed by the sailor in coasting and fishing on the coasts of his own country. Let coasting be frequent, and let not this fishery be discouraged in France, and it will not be necessary, in order to form sailors, to send them so far to take fish, which they cannot bring to Europe without great expence: by which the consumption is consequently limited, and which deprives us of the inestimable advantage of receiving in abundance,

ance, that which the independent Americans can take at much less expence.

Without doubt the exercise of the fisheries of the North forms intrepid sailors; and this painful life must be consented to. But when nature has placed men in a climate where they have but a few steps to make to the interior of the country,* to find an occupation exempt from dangers and less fatiguing, when they can get their bread upon land, under a clear and calm sky, if he reasons, how will he be engaged to trust his life to boards, and to brave icy seas, to expose himself during the finest months in the year to perpetual storms, which assail these fishing banks, so frequently stained, by means of the most fatal errors, with European blood?

It will be answered, by premiums,† by privileges,
and

* The French fish but a part of the year; most of the fishermen are day labourers, employed on land, which they leave in the month of February, and return to it in July.

† England gives considerable premiums to her fishermen.—But the inconveniencies and abuses of the first premiums render them of no effect. These abuses are chiefly as follows: The fishing vessel must go to a certain port; the equipage must pass in review before the Officers of the Customs; the ship must complete her cargo, or remain three months at sea to do it:—so that if in the first week she procured nine-tenths of it, she would be obliged to keep the sea for the other tenth. The ship can take no instruments but those proper for the fishery, to which the premium is applied; the cargo cannot be discharged but in a certain port; there are general formalities to be observed with respect to the salt which she carries out and brings home; the owners are exposed to vexations from Custom-house Officers, to law suits which they are obliged to carry on in courts of justice, far from their residence.—Judge if a poor fisherman can expose himself to these inconveniencies; this is what has caused fisheries to decline, especially those of Scotland.—It is what has given so much ascendancy to the Dutch, who have no premiums. It is that which has rendered premiums useless. Other Governments adopt this method of giving premiums: the same difficulties are attached to them, and yet people are astonished that things go not on better.

and by prohibitions or overcharges of duties, which are equivalent to prohibitions on foreign industry.

But it must not be forgotten, that articles of subsistence are here in question, that those forced means make them dearer, that their consumption is then limited, and their effect restrained; that in forcing nature in this manner, is doing it at the expence of population, for by this barbarous regimen, men are destroyed instead of being produced, whilst permission to bring into sea-ports the fish of those who have nothing better to do than to take it, would infallibly increase population.

Moreover, to whom are these premiums and all other favours, with which it is wished to combat the nature of things, distributed? Does the individual of whom it is intended to make a sailor enjoy any advantage from them? Let not men be deceived in this; they are the prey of the navigator, who goes out of his closet but to walk about, and who directs his steps sometimes toward the sea side. He begins by taking his own share, and be persuaded that the wages which he offers to those whom he employs to conduct his perilous enterprize are parsimoniously calculated; therefore the end is not attained.

If there be an absolute want of sailors who have passed their noviciate about the banks of Newfoundland, and in the North seas, there is a more simple and sure means, less expensive, and what is more important, one which is exempt from destructive consequences, to form them. Choose from honest families young, robust, and intelligent men; insure to them a personal recompense, if, after a certain number of voyages on board fishing vessels, they bring certificates of good behaviour, and of experience acquired by practice. Oblige them to go on board vessels belonging to nations or cities, to which these difficult fisheries are a necessary resource. It is there they will acquire real knowledge. These,
added

added afterwards to sailors exercised in the coasting and in the fisheries on their own coasts, will form for the navy experienced sailors.

Whale oil belongs to the fisheries: it is another great article of commerce with the United States. All oil of this denomination is not produced by whales only; great quantities of it is drawn from seals, and other species of fish.

The use of this oil is much restrained in France: * that of the white of the whale, and of which such fine candles are made, is little known there. The use of oil will become more general.

Lord Sheffield is of opinion, that sound policy makes it necessary that the English should prohibit, or at least discourage by duties, American oil. It was with this idea that the government of England imposed a duty of four hundred and fifty livres tournois per ton on oils imported by the independent Americans, to favour the oils of Canada and Nova-Scotia.

This rigour should make this production, which has been hitherto proscribed, received in France. The introduction of it is so much the more necessary, as the French whale fishery is ruined. Bayon, formerly celebrated for this fishery, has abandoned it; Dunkirk, which continues to fit out vessels, furnishes but little of this oil, at a very high price.

Whether the French go to the North, or towards Brasil, they will labour under a disadvantage:— Without asylum in case of misfortune, their navigation is always longer and more expensive than that of other nations which carry on a whale fishery. It is therefore more to the advantage of France to receive

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* By statements which deserve some faith it appears, that in 1784, the importation into France of whale oil, and that of other fish taken by the French, was 1,610,619 lb. Foreign oil, 2,748,099 lb. Portugal furnished almost half of the last.

ceive American oil, and to pay for it with her wines and manufactures.

The French government soon perceived the necessity of receiving the oils of America. Had not this been done, an emigration of American fishermen into Canada and Nova-Scotia would have been the consequence. This was near happening, some time after the peace, in the island of Nantucket. In despair on seeing the ports of England shut, and not knowing where to sell their oils, which alone supplied all their wants, the inhabitants had resolved to emigrate to Nova-Scotia, when, on the moment of departure, they received a letter from the Marquis de la Fayette, whom they justly looked upon as their patron and father. He persuaded them to be patient until the French government should suppress or reduce the duties on oils, which have been reduced for a limited time; but during this time the independent Americans are to enjoy, with respect to their oils, all the advantages given to the most favoured nation;* and this favour, joined to all their other advantages, cannot fail to give them a great superiority in this branch of commerce, as beneficial to France as to them.

The white of the whale must be added, and the candles made with this substance: they are known by the name of spermaceti candles, and serve instead of very fine bougies or wax candles. The American Colonies exported of them, according to Lord Sheffield, to the amount of five hundred thousand livres tournois,

* Such are the duties on whale oil, &c. paid in France, according to the tariffs of 1664, and 1667; whale bone, cut and prepared by the French, thirty sols per cwt. fins, three livres per cwt. a barrel of oil of five hundred pounds weight, three livres. Whale bone from foreign fisheries pays, in the first instance, nineteen livres, in the second, thirty livres, and twelve livres in the third. The Hanse Towns pay nine livres in the first instance, and seven livres ten sols in the third.—It is the last duty which the American oils now pay.

tournois, in the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, calculating these candles at thirty-two sols a pound. It is probable, that these would be better made in France.

SECTION III.

Corn, Flour, &c.

Foreign corn and flour enter France on paying a duty too inconsiderable to make any sensible increase in their price. The principles laid down in the preceding article, with respect to articles of subsistence, must be adopted for the commodities of corn and flour.

The corn merchant, the most useful of all merchants (whatever the vulgar, who, from a want of information, confounds a dealer in corn with a monopolizer, may think of him,) fears arbitrary exceptions, sudden prohibitions, and unexpected strokes of authority. This state of uncertainty prevents the solid establishment of the true system of liberty, whence result innumerable inconveniencies, which no other system would bring on provided it were fixed, and that it afforded a certain basis of calculation.

But how could a legislation for corn be formed which should not be one of liberty, and which should nevertheless afford a like basis? This is impossible: seeking, first of all, the particular rules for every case, when these are of a nature not to be foreseen, is seeking for a chimera.

Not to fall into contradiction it is necessary to choose between arbitrary power and liberty—But that which is arbitrary presents nothing but a perspective which is naturally discouraging. No property is safe under this system; when it exists, the merchant and the cultivator are obliged to hazard their property in a lottery, of which the chicaneries cannot be calculated; for it is necessary to foresee the

false informations, errors, and manœuvres, of an interest different from their own, and even from that of the public, the attempts of power, &c. and if all these considerations ought to enter into the elements of their calculations, how can they found hopes on such a variable basis?

Liberty consists, on the contrary, in the choice which every one may make of that which is most agreeable to him, according to the circumstances of the moment. This is a general rule; it is applicable to every case, and the hope of gain is always accompanied by the decisive certainty that an individual will be master of all his industry, and of combining his speculations according to circumstances, which human power cannot govern.

From this demonstrated truth, that in every state of circumstances, the first thing needful to the commerce of grain is a fixed rule, results the necessity of embracing the system of liberty, and of protecting it in its fullest extent, without opposing any restrictive condition.*

Governments should be determined by the necessity alone of this fixed rule, if the system of liberty was not even demonstrated to be the best in every respect. But this system is moreover the most certain preservative against the alternatives of ruinous abundance and scarcity still more ruinous, which are both calamities, wherever imposts are considerable.

Lord Sheffield observes, that Europe, not being constantly under the necessity of recurring to American corn, the United States cannot put corn and flour into the class of productions, which found an essential

* The English sometimes prohibit importation or exportation.—But it must be observed, that the English previously fix the price of corn, which determines prohibitions. This is therefore a fixed law, and which, consequently deranges not speculators like an arbitrary law.

essential and durable commerce.* Lord Sheffield is mistaken. It is a truth, which every man of observation is acquainted with, that not a year comes forward without shewing that some one or more nations in Europe are in want of corn. This want of grain therefore being occasionally extended to all Europe, France ought to be anxious to become the magazine of it, since England was so formerly. Therefore it would be advantageous to construct in the free ports opened to the United States commodious depositories to receive and preserve American corn. By this means corn would be always ready to be transported to the place where the best price was to be had for it. These free ports being depositories where articles necessary to the United States would be collected, the commerce of corn would thereby acquire a continuation; advantageous to the two nations:—advantageous to America, because the certainty of a place of deposit, safe and little expensive, would cause grain to be sent more frequently; advantageous to France, because, besides the continual possession of an important commodity, and which would guarantee it from every manœuvre of interior monopoly, these depositories would furnish

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* We have no simple expression in France for 'staple commodities;' words by which the English term those sorts of productions of soil or industry, so naturalized as to form an essential part of national riches, and of which the commerce is favoured by great establishments, such as public buildings, depositories, and places or markets, destined to these productions. These are called the **STAPLE**, whence the expression 'staple commodities' was naturally formed.

We have not, like the English, the happy liberty of making words: their language becomes more rich, their elocution rapid, and we lose ourselves in long circumlocutions, to describe a thing of which we want the name; an inconvenience more pernicious to instruction than is believed. This remark is not at present ill timed: it is to those who conduct affairs, who live among them, whose vocation it is to treat thereon, to create words which explain them clearly and properly.

the means of a coasting trade, almost continual, from the north of France to the farthest part of the Mediterranean.

France does not grow all the corn she consumes;* she is obliged to get it from the north, from Sicily, and the coasts of Africa: that of the United States ought to be more proper for her, for two reasons: First, it must be cheaper, being the produce of a cultivating people. Secondly, the people have more various and general wants of fresh provisions than the southern countries of Europe. The American may receive wines, fine oils, and fruits of France, in exchange for his corn. The Neopolitan, the Sicilian, and the African, cannot be paid in the same manner.

Finally, there is another consideration favourable to the importation of American corn: it may easily arrive at Honfleur;† there it may be stored up, and undergo all the processes necessary to its preservation; processes which are become very simple and little expensive.‡ These establishments would keep up a considerable

* This is a fact, though contrary to the common opinion. Another fact, which proves the necessity of admitting corn at a low rate, such as the corn of America, is, that three-fourths of the inhabitants of the province of Beauce, which produces such fine corn, eat black bread and no other, and of which they have not even enough. What must this scarcity be in other provinces where no corn is grown?

† I quote Honfleur, because this port, from various circumstances, useless to mention here, is destined by nature to become the depository of a great commerce, and that especially of the United States with France. The project of making it a free port has been under consideration; and it is to the greatest interest of France that this project should be carried into execution.

‡ These consist in nothing but placing magazines in the open air, opened to dry winds, and constructed in such a manner as to be entirely removed. This operation, performed once a fortnight, in proper weather, needs only to be repeated a certain number of times; after which the corn may be left in a heap, without fear of its heating. Experiments of this kind have been carefully made. The method of preserving corn used at

considerable quantity of foreign corn within the reach of the capital, a greater advantage than may be imagined.

There are still other motives which ought to engage the French to encourage the importation of American corn. They have need of it for the vast magazines which the land and sea forces, and frequently scarcity, oblige them to keep stored.

What should hinder government from forming magazines of American corn in the French sugar islands, which tempests, conflagrations, and other unforeseen accidents, expose so frequently to famine, because contracted victualling is carried on by monopolizers, who send but little in order to sell dear?

SECTION IV.

Masts, Yards, and other Timber for the Navy.

France, like other European states which have a royal navy and fleets of merchant ships to keep in repair, imports timber from Livonia and Russia. This general magazine begins to be exhausted; the quality of its masts is not so good as formerly. This commerce is, moreover, attended with the disadvantage to France of requiring considerable remittances of money, without reckoning the inconveniences of a dangerous navigation, frequently interrupted by ice; also the competition of several nations, which their proximity and many other circumstances naturalize, so to speak, in the ports and seas of the North; advantages which the French cannot have.

These

Geneva may be quoted: The government has established one of its greatest revenues in the sale of corn to the people, and its interest has, consequently, led it to improve the art of preserving this commodity. Besides, in depositories destined wholly to the corn dealers, the same corn never remains long enough to render its preservation difficult. There is some reason to believe that the salt air of the sea is favourable for it.

These considerations ought to determine France to turn her attention to the United States, to procure from them the timber necessary for her navy, and mast timber especially. There is but one objection to this, and it arises from prejudice. It is pretended in France, that the quality of American timber is very much inferior to that of the Baltic. Some people go so far as to maintain that it is improper for the construction of vessels. I have reason to believe that this judgment is not only hasty, but dictated either by ignorance, or the partiality of persons interested in the Baltic timber.

It is not in the laws of nature, that immense countries, whose aspects are as varied as those of Europe can be, and in whose soil there are the same diversities, should produce no timber but of a quality inferior to that of the timber of Europe.

Better directed inquiries, and a more attentive examination, will soon destroy this prejudice against the quality of American timber; a prejudice so much the more disagreeable, as it would deprive the commerce between France and the United States of an article important to the two nations.

If France will inform herself seriously of this matter, let her consult even the enemies of America; let her consult Lord Sheffield, so moderate in his eulogiums, when it is necessary to give them to the independent Americans. His Lordship says expressly, "that the negociators of the treaty of peace, who have ceded the territory of Penobscot, to the east of Casco-bay, belonging to Great-Britain, deserve the severest censure; as this country produces, without contradiction, the best timber. The coast," adds his Lordship, "is covered with timber proper for navigation and other uses, and in quantities sufficient to the wants of Great-Britain for centuries to come. The white pine, known in England by the name of the Weymouth Pine, or the Pine
" of

" of New-England, abounds in this territory; it is
" incontestably the best for masts, and grows there
" to a prodigious height."

This is confirmed to us by men who have travelled and resided in the United States. These men assure us, that the States produce all kinds of timber of which we are in need, and that the white pine of the Connecticut, Penobscot, and Kennebeck rivers is, at least, equal in quality to that of the north of Europe. The ship-builders of Philadelphia esteem it so much, that they begin to make use of it for side planks above the surface of the water.

Green oak, of which there are such fine forests in Georgia, unites the most precious qualities; it may be procured from St. Mary's, of a more considerable scantling than that which comes from the Levant and the island of Corfica; it is compact, the worms never attack it, and its duration is unequalled. The green oak of Carolina is the hardest timber known; —the vessels built with it are of a very long duration.

SECTION V.

Skins and Furs.

In this trade Lord Sheffield looks upon the United States as dangerous rivals to Canada; and it is not without reason that his Lordship is of this opinion.

The proximity of the great establishments which the independent Americans form at present at *Pittsburgh*, and in many other places of their possessions beyond the mountains, must insensibly give them great advantages in this commerce, and make them partake with Canada a large share of the profits.

In fact, the regions situated between the waters of the lake *Ontario*, and those of the *Mississippi*, intersected by the numerous rivers which fall into the South and North-West of *Lake Erie*, of the *Michigan*,
and

and of the *Superior*, as far as the *Oniscofing*,* and even to the *lac des bois*; the great undertakings in which the Virginians are at present employed, to improve the navigation of the *Potowmack*, to the foot of the Allegheny; the probability of another communication with the ultramontane waters, by means of the western branches of the *Susquehannah*; without omitting the facility with which the inhabitants of the state of New-York went to *Niagara* before the war, in going up the Hudson's river from their capital to Albany, beyond that of the Mohawks, crossing the little lake of Oneida, and by means of an easy carriage going down the river of *Oswego*, in the mouth of which the Ontario forms an excellent harbour; all these reasons, and many others which relate not only to geography, but to climate, proximity, &c. must in a few years put the Americans in possession of the greatest part of the fur trade.

These advantages will be still more certain, when the English shall have evacuated the forts of *Niagara*,† the great establishment of the streight,‡ and that of the *Michillimakinaok*.§

The annual sales in London of furs from Canada, produced in 1782, four millions seven hundred thousand livres tournois, something more in 1783, and in 1784 they amounted to upwards of five millions. All these furs are paid for with English manufactures, and the fourth part is prepared in England, by which their

* A great river which falls into the Mississippi, at seven hundred leagues from the sea.

† A very important one, which commands the space of the thirteen leagues which separates the lakes Erie and Ontario.

‡ A city founded by the French, on the height of St. Claire, which carries the waters of the lakes Michigan and Huron into the Erie.

§ A fort and establishment at the point, in the island of this name, which commands the passage of the falls of St. Mary, through which the waters of the upper lake fall into those of the Huron.

their value is doubled. Now, this rich commerce, carried on by way of Quebec, will certainly fall as soon as the forts and the countries which they command shall be restored to the Americans. It is from this consideration that the restitution of these forts is withheld, to the period of which the English look forward with pain.

SECTION VI.

Rice, Indigo, Flax-seed.

It is not possible to speak of American rice without thinking of the pernicious inconveniencies which its cultivation produces. The wretched slaves who cultivate it, obliged to be half the year in water, are exposed to scrophulous disorders and a premature death. It is said, that this consideration prevents the states wherein rice is produced, from abolishing slavery. Free men would not devote themselves willingly to this destructive labour.*

Were this even true, and that in the system of liberty means could not be found to reconcile this culture to the health of the labourers, a sufficient motive could not be drawn from it to condemn to death, or to cruel diseases, a part of our fellow creatures, born free, equal us,† and with an equal right to live.

Were

* Rice is cultivated in Piedmont and in Italy, by people who have no habitations, and are known by the name of Banditti, the fruit of the bad political constitutions of that part of Europe. When these Banditti have finished their work, the Sbirres conduct them to the frontiers, for fear of the disorders to which their inaction and misery might incline them.

† They are of a different colour from that of the Europeans; but does the quality of man depend on colour? Are not the negroes organized as we are? Have not they like us, every thing which belongs to the production of the species, to the formation of ideas, and to their developement? If their black colour ought to have any moral effect, to have any influence over their fate, or to determine our conduct towards them, it should be that of inducing us to leave them where they are, and not to force them

Were the culture of this commodity even absolutely necessary, this necessity would give us no right over the lives of negroes; or it would be the effect of a state of war; for servitude was never a right.

There is a species of dry rice no way dangerous to cultivate. Moreover, the example of the Chinese and the Indians, among whom the culture of rice makes not such ravages, ought to make us hope, that in imitating them life and health would be restored to men of which we have never had a right to deprive them.

After having considered this production as a man should consider it, I must now consider it as a merchant ought to do.

The French government has not yet taken a determined resolution relative to the introduction of American rice. It is a wholesome and simple article of subsistence, proper to supply the place of principal commodities. It cannot be too often repeated, that the multiplication of articles of subsistence ought to be encouraged; it would render life less painful to the people, increase population, and consequently natural riches.

If France wishes to have a great and solid commerce with the United States, she ought to admit all the productions of the United States.

The

away from their country; not to punish them by the most barbarous treatment on account of their colour; not to drag them into a foreign land, to condemn them there to the vile and painful life of animals. Do they come and offer themselves voluntarily as slaves? Do they ask to leave those torrid zones, wherein nature seems to have circumscribed them by their colour, as she has done by us in more temperate ones by our white complexions? Their wants being few, keep them in ignorance; we add every thing capable of changing it into imbecility, and we argue upon this degradation, of which we are the culpable authors, to tranquilize ourselves on the just reproaches which nature makes us! Can we boast therefore of our knowledge, as long as it remains an accomplice in these horrors? See on this subject, 'l'examen critique des Voyages,' de M. de Chastelux.

The Americans exported annually, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, to Great-Britain and the south of Europe, a hundred and fifteen thousand barrels of rice, worth six millions and a half of livres tournois.* It is the most considerable article of exportation after tobacco, wheat, and flour. It deserves therefore that France should think of it for her commerce, and endeavour to bring it into her ports, to be distributed there to other European markets.

Indigo.

The same thing may be said of the indigo of the Carolinas and Georgia; it makes a part of the important productions of the United States, and is consumed in Europe;—it is therefore necessary to open for its reception all the French ports, and afterwards to give it easy communications. The English received of it annually, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, to the amount of three millions of livres tournois.† It was principally consumed in England, Ireland, and the north of Europe, by reason of its low price. The indigo of St. Domingo is much dearer.

The indigo of Carolina and Georgia has acquired a much better quality since the first quantities of it arrived in England; but I have not learned that it is to be compared with the indigo of Domingo. Travellers say, that Carolina produces indigo almost as good as that of the French islands.

There are kinds of dying to which low priced indigo is proper; and, for this reason, certain dyers use that of the Carolinas and Georgia. In these cases it will always have the preference. Therefore American indigo should be admitted as long as there is a consumption for it, for the Americans will continue

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to

* The exportation from Charleston, from December 1784, to December 1785, amounted to 67,713 barrels.

† The exportation of dye-stuff, made in 1785, from Charleston, amounted to 500,920 pound weight.

to cultivate it; and since this cultivation cannot be prevented, the most advantageous thing is to strive to become agents in the general commerce of America.

Flax-Seed.

North-America sent to England and Ireland, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, flax-seed to the amount of two millions and a half of livres tournois; it was all consumed in Great-Britain. The advantage of paying for this seed with Irish linens, gave it the preference to that of Flanders and the Baltic. Flax-seed from these countries is, moreover, very dear.

It is the business of those French merchants, who may be interested in the commerce with the United States, to consider what advantages they may derive from this commerce. If the culture of flax becomes extensive in France, foreign seed ought to be preferred for two reasons:—the quality of the production is improved by it, and there is more advantage in spinning flax in peopled and industrious countries, than in letting it ripen to gather seed. It appears, that flax-seed comes not in abundance, but from countries where there are not hands sufficient to spin, or give the first preparation, even to the flax they produce: it is then proper to cultivate it for its seed, which becomes a considerable article of commerce: as long as this state of things subsists, it must also be proper for peopled countries to get flax-seed from abroad.

Flanders seems to be an exception; but the exportation of flax is there prohibited, for the purpose of encouraging spinning, &c. in this case Flanders, being a country very proper for the cultivation of flax, may leave to many cultivators of this plant no other resource than the commerce of the seed. It is probable, that if the flax could be sent from Flanders,
after

after the first preparation for spinning, nobody would think of gathering the seed.

SECTION VII.

Naval Stores, such as Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine.

Before the emancipation of America, England received considerable supplies of these articles from America, particularly from Carolina and the South. The quantities of these articles amounted annually, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, to twenty-seven thousand seven hundred barrels of pitch; eighty-two thousand four hundred barrels of tar; and twenty-eight thousand one hundred of turpentine: the whole amounting, in the port of exportation, to one million two hundred and twenty-eight thousand livres tournois.

These stores were very valuable to the English, as well for their commerce as for their proper consumption. Two considerable manufactures, established at Hull, were supported by them; tar was there converted into pitch, considerable quantities of it were exported to the south, where it was received in competition with that from the north of Europe. Turpentine, converted in these manufactures into oil or spirit, furnished a considerable object of commerce. England consumes a great deal of it in the preparation of colours, varnishes, &c.

The American revolution has not made the English lose sight of these stores: the want they have of them makes it imprudent to trust wholly to the exportation of these articles from Russia and Sweden, where the English have the Dutch for competitors. Moreover, the navigation of America, less dangerous than that of the Baltic, is not, like the last, limited to a certain time of the year; it is consequently more frequent and less expensive; so that these stores will come for a long time from America at a lower price

than from the north. American tar is as good as that of Europe, thicker and more proper for making pitch; it is preferred for sheep, even at a higher price. American turpentine is inferior to none but that of France.

An English merchant has taught the Russians how to furnish as good turpentine as that from any other nation: this production will be in great abundance there, by the numerous and immense forests of firs in the neighbourhood of Archangel, where their crops are deposited.

The state of things shews to France what value she ought to attach to the naval stores which may be furnished from America. The quantities of them exported from Charleston become more and more considerable.* The sandy soil near the sea, in North Carolina and the south of Virginia, produces a great quantity of firs, from which tar and turpentine are extracted; this is done without much trouble, and the facility of felling and preparing the trees is a great encouragement.

SECTION VIII.

Timber and Wood, for Carpenters and Coopers work; such as Staves, Cask-heads, Planks, Boards, &c.

France, as well as England, ought to be, for their own interests, engaged to favour the importation of these articles, of which the United States can furnish such great quantities.

Timber

* In 1782,—2041 barrels of pitch, tar, and turpentine, were exported from Charleston. In 1783,—14697 barrels. I know not how many barrels the exportation of 1784 amounted to; but that of 1785 consisted of 17,000. The same increase is observed in other articles. The most considerable is rice, afterwards indigo;—the other articles are, tobacco, deer-skins, timber, wheat, butter, wax, and leather. This exportation amounts to near four hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Timber fails in France, and will become more and more scarce; population destroys it:—yet timber must be found for houses, mills, &c.—hogsheds must be made for sugars; casks and barrels for wine, brandy, &c. These articles of timber are principally furnished from the North to the ports of France—but they become dear, their quality diminishes, and the Americans have the advantage in the carriage.*

The value of these articles, exported from America to Great-Britain only, amounted to two millions of livres tournois in the year 1770; according to a statement drawn up in the Custom-House of Boston. The general exportations to the English, French, American, and Spanish islands, and to the different parts of Europe, are immense and become daily more considerable. Were not this timber of a good quality, the increase of this commerce would not be so rapid. The French have in this respect some prejudices, which it is of importance to destroy. If the American staves are esteemed in making rum casks, &c. they will undoubtedly preserve our brandies.

* It is necessary to give our readers an idea of the price of some of these articles: an American very conversant in them has furnished us with the necessary particulars.

White oak planks, of two inches and a half thick, sawed by the hand, were sold in 1785, at fifteen piastras, or two hundred and sixty livres ten sols tournois, the thousand feet.

Ordinary planks of fine white pine, an inch thick, fourteen or fifteen feet long, and from a foot to fourteen inches wide, were sold at the same time at seven piastras, or thirty-seven livres tournois, the thousand feet.—Those of a double thickness, double the price.

Planks, from two to five inches thick, and from fifteen to sixty feet long, at twenty-one pounds New-York money, or two hundred and seventy-three livres tournois, the thousand feet.—The same person said he had seen curbs or bent timber, at ten shillings New-York money a ton, the expence of cutting, &c. not included.

SECTION IX.

Vessels constructed in America, to be sold or freighted.

It has been observed that the bulk of the commodities which might be exchanged by the commerce between France and the United States, was, at an equal value, much more considerable on the side of America than that of France. There results from this, that in these exchanges, a great number of American vessels must be subject to return to America in ballast. This state of things would certainly be prejudicial to the commerce between the two nations, if some compensation could not be established which should remove the inequality.

This compensation may be made in a very advantageous manner to both. The independent Americans construct vessels for sale: if it be agreeable to a nation to purchase of another the articles which this manufactures at a less expence, and with more means, it follows, that the French ought to buy American vessels; and, in fact, this commerce begins to be established.

Lord Sheffield reprobates this commerce with respect to his own country.—“Its existence,” says his Lordship, “depends on its navy; this depends “as much on English ship-builders as on English sailors; therefore, of all trades, that of ship-building is the most important to be preserved in Great-Britain.” The advances, according to his Lordship, are of little consequence, and these vessels not being destined to be sold to foreigners, what they cost ought to be considered so much the less, as the expence is incurred in the country.

Lord Sheffield presumes also, that ship-building will be encouraged in New-Scotland, Canada, the Island of St. John, &c. Finally, his Lordship declares, “that the encouragement of ship-building in the
“United

“ United States is ruinous to Great-Britain; that it is the same to those who may purchase American built vessels; because, notwithstanding their cheapness, these vessels are little durable, from the nature of their materials.” This observation relates particularly to vessels built for sale, which, his Lordship says, “ are very inferior to those which are bespoke.”

It cannot be denied, that it is of consequence to a nation which attaches a great importance to its navy, to have ship-builders. The repairs, &c. of which vessels are constantly in want, would be badly directed, if there were not, in the class of workmen to whom this industry belongs, men capable of constructing a vessel, and habituated to this construction. What is still more, as soon as a nation has a navy, it is greatly to its interest to possess every means of improving it; and the possession of these means is so much more secure when there are establishments in the country which, in this case, support emulation, by the constant exercise of the art.

But it does not follow, that to preserve such an advantage, a nation ought to have no other vessels than those which are home built: it is here necessary to distinguish ships belonging to the royal navy from merchant ships. The first are alone sufficient to employ a requisite number of able builders, and to supply every thing which the construction and repairs of vessels require. But merchant ships, of which a considerable number is wanted, may be procured from abroad, if those of an equal quality can be had at a price considerably less.

Will it be said, that a nation becomes so much the more powerful at sea, as the construction of vessels is encouraged in her ports? that under this point of view it is necessary to be cautious not to furnish the independent Americans with the means of forming a navy,

navy, which would render them formidable? that it is at least unnecessary to hasten these means?

If this consideration were true, it would in some measure impose on France a law to encourage the United States to form their navy; for, however formidable her own may be, she has too many natural obstacles to remove for her navy to be the effect of any thing but painful efforts, and consequently that it should be an establishment very difficult to maintain,—very expensive, and subject to long intermissions: And since it is necessary to speak constantly of a threatening rivalry,—of an armed rivalry,—France has the greatest interest, to balance more surely the force of her rivals, by calling to her aid the naval force of a friendly people,—of a people to whom nature has been prodigal in the means she has given them of having a considerable one.

But the policy which refused to purchase American vessels, for fear the Americans should become formidable at sea, would be badly founded. A sure manner of retarding the establishment of a navy, by a nation which possesses the means and materials; the power and activity which such a great establishment requires, is to employ it continually in the construction of vessels for sale, and to habituate it to this kind of commerce. If this nation, and such is the position of the United States, has nothing to fear interiorly from any other power, it will certainly despise all such military preparations, whose profit and utility will not be so immediately perceived, as the frequent gains of peaceful commerce. Therefore, let the independent Americans be persuaded to build vessels for sale: let them not be provoked to build ships for defensive and offensive operations, and they will neglect the great means with which nature has furnished them, of having a respectable navy: they will even neglect them, when greater riches, and a more considerable

siderable population, shall facilitate to them the use of their natural means.

Far from suffering by this new arrangement of things, France would gain thereby. This idea will undoubtedly appear extraordinary, because, in abandoning workmanship to American ship-builders, France is deprived of it: but how easily may she compensate this apparent loss! In fact, when nothing is to be had without labour, it is then considered as real riches: therefore, it ought to be employed with a prudent economy, especially in the system of national rivalities. The workmen who will not build vessels, will make cloth, with which vessels may be paid for. The expence of manufacturing these cloths will be paid at home, as that for the construction of vessels would have been; by which means these will be had at a cheaper rate. This labour and expence will therefore produce greater advantages, and place the nation in a more desirable relation with its rivals.

Finally, Lord Sheffield, whose narrow policy is here refuted, proposes that ship-building should be encouraged in Canada, New-Scotland, &c. But do physical circumstances favour these countries as much as the United States? Can England reap real advantages from this encouragement? It is a question with which several writers have combated Lord Sheffield, and on which I cannot decide.

But if England had this resource, France would be without it. Vessels built in America will always cost her less than her own, or those constructed elsewhere: she ought therefore to favour the introduction of the first.

A celebrated minister, whom France has reason to regret, thought as follows: his design was to get a part of the vessels of the French navy constructed in Sweden; he thereby expected to make great sav-
ings:

ings: they will be greater and more real, in getting the vessels constructed in the United States.

The English themselves will not be able to resist the force of things; they will sooner or latter return to the use of American vessels; for these cost but a third* of what English vessels are built for; and the cheapness is the first law of commerce.

The bad quality attributed to American vessels is a fable, arising from the following circumstances: in the contention for independence, the Americans built vessels in haste, to arm them as cruisers: they were forced to make use of wood which was green, and unprepared; other things were either wanting to these vessels, or precipitately prepared. Consequently the vessels were imperfect; but this imperfection was but accidental. A cruise is a lottery, wherein no notice is taken of the goodness and durability of the vessel. It is sufficient that it be a good sailer, this is the essential quality.

Peace has re-established the construction of vessels in the manner it ought to be; and there are American vessels built before the war, and some thirty years ago; which for goodness and duration are not inferior to any English vessel.

More progress has been made in America than any where else in the art of ship-building; this is easily explained:—it must not be forgotten, when the independent Americans are spoken of, that they are not recovering from a state of barbarity. They are men escaped from European civilization, employed, so to speak, in creating their country and resources: no shackles restrain their efforts, every thing in Europe is looked upon as perfect, and made use of, without thinking of improving it. These two essential differences

* In New-England the constructors of vessels make their bargains at the rate of three pounds sterling per ton, carpenter's work included. On the Thames, the price is nine pounds sterling for the work alone of the carpenter.

ferences cause a very considerable one in the intensity of industry.

Boston has produced a man astonishing in the art of ship-building. Long and closely employed in the search of means to unite swiftness of sailing in vessels to their solidity, Mr. Peck has had the greatest success. It was his hand which produced the *Belifarius*, the *Hazard*, and the *Rattlesnake*, which were so particularly distinguished during the late war by their swiftness of sailing. Vessels constructed by this able builder have qualities which others have not; they carry a fourth more, and sail faster. These facts are authenticated by a number of experiments.

The English themselves acknowledge the superiority of American ship-building: "The finest vessels," says Colonel Champion, "are built at Philadelphia; the art of ship-building has attained in that city the highest degree of perfection. Great vessels are built in New-York, also in the Chesapeake, and in South-Carolina: these last, made of green oak, are of an unequalled solidity and durability."

The American Proverb says: *That to have a perfect vessel, it must have a Boston bottom and Philadelphia sides.*

The French, if connoisseurs be believed, are very inferior to the Americans in the minutiae of ship-building. This superiority of America ought not to surprise us: it will still increase. The independent Americans who inhabit the coasts, live by the sea, and pride themselves in navigation. As they have competitors, their genius will never sleep, nor will its efforts be shackled in any manner whatever. In France, the people are, and ought to be cultivators; the marine is but a subordinate part, and by the nature of things, it must enjoy but a very precarious consideration. Honour, which affects the head of every Frenchman, is distributed but at Paris and at Court; and there men are, and must still be,

be, far from perceiving the importance of attaching merit to the improvement of ship-building; it must therefore languish, or yield to that of the Americans. Hence it results, that the French, in preserving every thing which can maintain amongst them an able class of ship-builders, must buy vessels of the Americans; because every convenience is united to that of facilitating their reciprocal importations and exportations, of which the bulks are so different in one nation from those of the other.

This circumstance is attended with the advantage of procuring the French merchant an American vessel at a less price than if he had ordered it to be built, or if he bought it in America, because it will always be more to the interest of the American to sell his vessel, than to take it back in ballast.

Such is the fitness of American vessels for the French marine, and especially for merchant service; such is that fitness for all the European powers who have harbours and sea-port towns, that I think a sure and commodious road in Europe would soon be afforded with American vessels for sale, if every thing which can encourage a like depository were granted to the port wherein this road might be. This market for vessels will be established;—the English reject it. France will, in a short time, encourage it.

SECTION X.

General Considerations on the preceding Catalogue of Importations from the United States into France.

The list which I have gone through of the articles with which the independent Americans may furnish Europe in exchange for her merchandize is not very long; but these articles are considerable, and important enough in themselves to merit the attention of European merchants: they are sufficient to destroy the prejudices of those who, under the
false

false pretext of the inability of the Americans to furnish articles of exchange, disdain a reciprocal commerce with the United States. These articles are not, however, the only ones which France may receive from them. Independently of pot-ash, so precious to manufactures, and of which the scarcity becomes daily more sensible, iron, vegetable-wax, wool, flax, hemp, &c. may increase the number. The English received of pot-ash to the amount of four hundred thousand livres per annum, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770: pot-ash being the produce of the wood burnt by the Americans, and as the burning of wood must increase with the number of people, the quantities of pot-ash must have increased with population.

I ought to hope that the work, once known in the United States, will excite the independent Americans to co-operate with me, in what I have proposed to myself, which is to spread instruction on every thing which relates to their country. They will make known to Europe, in a more extensive and complete manner, every thing which can maintain that reciprocal commerce in favour of which I write: they will assemble in a work correspondent to this, all that I have been able to expose but imperfectly: they will rectify my errors. I invite them to apply to this interesting subject: I pray them to give it for a basis, more philosophical, and philanthropical principles, than those which have hitherto directed the jealous industry of each society. For each, led on by a blind ambition, has wished to embrace every thing, to do every thing at home, and furnish every thing to others; each has taken for principle to receive nothing from others, except it be gold; each has accustomed itself to look upon every production, manufactured or unmanufactured, which it sent abroad as a profit, and all those which it received as so many losses. Such is the false principle,

ciple, according to which all the European nations have directed their exterior commerce.

What would be the consequence of a like system, if it continued to prevail? All nations would be strangers to each other, and exterior commerce absolutely annihilated; because it tends to take from this commerce that which supports it. For the gold which is wished for in payment for exportations is refused to those who would obtain it: all nations look upon the necessity of giving it alike; that it is disadvantageous—and strive to avoid it. If, therefore, on one side, none will take return in kind, and on the other, nobody will dispossess himself of his gold, what will become of exchanges? what will become of commerce?

Nature, which intended to make men so many brothers, and nations so many families;—nature, which, to unite all men by the same tie, has given them wants, which place them in a state of dependence one on the other;—this wise nature has, by the distribution of her gifts, anticipated and condemned this exclusive system. She has said to the inhabitants of Nantucket, The rock which thou inhabit is rude and stormy; renounce, therefore, the desire of drawing from it the delicious wines and fruits which more calm and temperate climates produce. Look at the sea which surrounds thee,—that is thy property and thy treasure: I have made it inexhaustible; and if thou knowest how to make use of it; if thou wilt confine thyself thereto, all the enjoyments of the other continent are thine: a single stroke of a harpoon, dexterously thrown, will produce a thousand times more wine in thy cellar, than if by a painful cultivation thou continuest obstinate, in acting contrary to my intentions.

Nature holds the same language to the other inhabitants of the earth: she tells the French to use all their efforts in the fruitful soil which she has given them,

them, and to cease traversing foreign seas to obtain, at an immense expence and much risk, the fish and oil which the inhabitants of Nantucket procure with greater facility and more success and economy.

Why should not all nations understand a language so simple, so wise, and so proper to produce universal harmony? But how are they to be made to understand it? By what means are they to be prevailed upon to adopt it? What means are proper to engage nations which might have a direct commerce between them, to sign a treaty of commerce, which should leave each at liberty to furnish that which it could export better and cheaper than others; and thus establish exchanges on the immutable laws of nature?

As soon as nations shall be enlightened enough to perceive the advantage of such a treaty, from that moment it will cease to be necessary, and every other treaty will be still less so. It will then be seen, that they all center in the single word *liberty*. It will be discovered that liberty can put every thing in its place; that liberty alone, without negotiation or parchment, can every where give birth to an advantageous industry. Finally, that every where, and at all times, she has sported with those commercial conventions, of which politicians have so ridiculously boasted; of those conventions wherein the contracting parties are incessantly on the defensive with respect to each other—incessantly disposed to deceive, and frequently multiply the seeds of war in a work of peace.

Under such a system of liberty, there would be no longer occasion for craftiness in national policy with respect to commerce;—of what use would it be? No more strife; for it would have no object: no more jealousy or rivalry; no more fear of making others prosper and become rich; because the riches of each state would be advantageous to the whole.

In a word, according to this system, each nation would wish the other more means, in order to have more to give and more to receive. Commerce would become what it ought to be, the exchange of industry against industry; of enjoyments against enjoyments, and not against deprivations: finally, a state of riches, without poverty on any side.

What people have more right and title than the Americans, to be the first in adopting so philanthropical a system, and which is so conformable to the laws of nature—at least to do nothing which shall retard it among them? Let their Congress,—that respectable assembly, which may become the light of nations, and from whose deliberations universal happiness may result,—remain faithful to the indications of this nature; let it interrogate her constantly, and give every nation the same salutary habitude.

If Europe refuses to admit the productions of the United States, let Congress, rejecting the poor policy of reprisals, open, by a great and republican resolution, their ports to all European productions. What evil can result from this to the independent Americans? If European prohibitions rendered their means of exchange useless, European merchandize must of course be without a market in America; or, falling to a mean price in the United States, it would become profitable to the Americans in paying for it even with gold.

The law may be given to an idle and degraded nation, but never to one which is active and industrious. This always punishes, in some manner or other, the tyrannical proceedings of other nations. The force of things is alone sufficient to revenge it.

It is a misfortune to the United States, in not having been able to establish at first the noble system of which I have spoken, and to be obliged to have recourse to the miserable means of other governments,—that of imposing duties on foreign merchandize

dize to pay their debts. Every imposition but a quit-rent upon land is a source of errors. The *pretended protecting duties* imposed in Europe are one consequence of these errors, and of which the effect leads government astray, so far as to persuade them, that they possess a creative force equal to that of the Divinity himself. And what are these enterprises by which men would force nature? Miserable hothouses,—wherein every thing is hastened to finish the sooner; wherein industry vainly exhausts itself to support an unnatural existence; and wherein a vigorous whole is frequently sacrificed to a corrupted part.

Let the Americans carefully avoid these erroneous enterprises: to insure themselves therefrom, let them consider the state of Europe. The Europeans have no longer any judgment in matters of impost: simple ideas are lost, and become impossible to be realized by the metaphysician, which it is necessary to employ to combat ignorance, prejudices and habitudes: all ideas of justice and propriety are confounded. A truth cannot be advanced without meeting, at every moment, false notions to combat. The man of information is fatigued, disgusted, and frequently at a loss what to answer to objections proceeding from habits of error. He perceives with concern, that the laws of happiness cannot be written, but upon tables from which there is nothing to be effaced: and such, I flatter myself, is the situation of the United States. They are yet virgin states—they are unacquainted with the institutions which end in chaos, wherein the love of public good loses all its force.

Montesquieu observes, that the enterprises of merchants are always necessarily mixed with public affairs; but that in monarchies, public affairs are for the most part suspicious in the eyes of the merchants. But prosperity and national glory depend on commerce, as much in monarchies as in other constitu-

tions. It is therefore the interest of monarchies to give to merchants that hope of prosperity which they have in republics, and which inclines them with ardour to every kind of commercial enterprise.

Provincial administrations are the surest means of producing this happy effect. If they were already established, the French would comprehend, how absurd it is to imagine that the United States will not discharge their public debt; how impossible it is that Republicans should make use of the dishonourable resource of bankruptcy and deception; and that their public spirit, their morals, and interest, require them to discharge this debt, contracted for the most legitimate and honourable cause that ever existed; and which is otherways but an atom when compared with their immense resources. French merchants would then give themselves less concern about the manner in which their merchandize was to be paid for in America. For in the improbable case of a want of American productions, or of precious metals, they have, as a last resource, the paper of Congress and the States; which paper it is an advantage to acquire, by the price at which it is obtained, by the interest it bears, the certainty of its being paid, and by the consequent transmission which may be made of it in commerce to the Dutch merchant, to whom the paper of the whole world becomes necessary the moment it merits confidence.

I have mentioned precious metals. The Americans are in the neighbourhood of the countries which produce them. These countries are the abodes of indolence, which dispenses not with necessaries. Skins, &c. of animals, and some metals, are every thing that can be given there in exchange for articles of subsistence, which the inhabitants have not the courage to make their lands produce, and for the necessaries, for which they find it more convenient to pay with gold than with their industry. The independent

dependent Americans will become factors, advantageously placed between European manufactures, and the inhabitants of regions condemned by nature to the sterile productions of metals. All the powers of Spain cannot prevent this, nor ought even to undertake it. This new consideration promising to the French payment, so foolishly desired in gold, ought to encourage them to prepare for a commercial connexion with the United States.

CONCLUSION,

And Reflections on the Situation of the United States.

IT will be proper to finish this volume by some explanations of the pretended troubles which agitate the United States. These explanations are necessary to destroy the unfavourable impressions which must be made by the unfaithful recitals of gazette writers, who, from servile prejudices or mean interest, affect to spread doubts of the happy consequences of the revolution. If we believe these people, the independent Americans are plunged into inextricable embarrassments, forced to become bankrupts, given up to the most violent anarchy, exposed to the tomahawk of the implacable Indians, &c. How is it possible to resolve to carry on a commerce with people whose situation is so deplorable? Ought not their ruin to be feared rather than their fortune hoped for, in the connexions which it is wished to form with them?

It is necessary to refute these falsehoods. It is so much the more so, as ignorance easily leads people, little acquainted with republican constitutions, into
error;

error; and that, led astray by the prejudices of their educations, a great number of Frenchmen look upon this form of government as a state perpetually in a ferment, wherein life and property are continually exposed to the greatest dangers.

These prejudices lead to the belief of the most puerile and absurd fables. The least attention is not paid to circumstances. Would the United States have a Congress of magistrates if it were true that the people were at war with them? For how could Congress and the magistrates defend themselves? They have no other defence but the respect which each individual has for the law; this is their only force. It is the obligation that the constitution imposes on them, in common with the meanest citizens, of being obedient to the law, as the last means which constitute their only safety, and which maintains, in all cases and every where, the authority which the people have confided in them. They cannot employ a physical force farther than the people are willing to lend them, because they have neither an army nor soldiers in pay.

A diversity of opinion exists wherever there are men. It belongs not to one constitution more than to another; but the essence of a republican government is to leave to each individual the liberty of expressing his sentiments on every subject.

In the United States, legislation is more and more formed in proportion as things relative to each other are verified, extended, and multiplied. Is it astonishing that debates should arise on account of the different laws which are proposed, discussed, and adopted? These debates become public, animate conversation, and make it highly interesting. But is this anarchy?

The word *anarchy* is one of those words which has been most abused and misapplied. It is therefore necessary to explain it.

Where

Where anarchy reigns, there is neither chief, government, laws, nor safety. Each individual becomes the defender of his own person, the social contract is broken, and there is no longer any confidence or transactions, because there can be no more contracts. Authority, changing at every instant its rules, principles, and aim, becomes cruel or contemptible; it destroys, or is destroyed. Such a state exists not long; or if it does exist, it soon divides society into armed herds, enemies to each other, and which subsist but in proportion as they fear and counterbalance each other's power.

Is any thing like this seen in the United States? Are there disputes even about the principles of the constitution, the fundamental laws, or the proposed end? Has not every thing relative to this been long since agreed upon? The present debates relate wholly to some rules of administration: it is upon the best manner of serving the public cause, and of supporting it, that minds are still in a salutary agitation; and this agitation hinders not more the regular course of public affairs and transactions, than the debates in the English Parliament hinder the monarch from naming to offices and conferring rank—than they stop the course of justice, or are impediments to the affairs of every class of citizens.

The word *anarchy* is proper to states which, like Egypt, have twenty-four sovereigns, and neither laws nor government. It is applicable to the degenerated constitutions of Asia, where the administration is divided into several departments, independent of each other, traversing one another in their views and pretensions, the operations of one part interfering with those of the other, all having the power of making particular laws, or of suspending the effect of those which exist. There a real anarchy reigns, because it is not known where the government is, nor in whom the legislative power is vested. This
incertitude

incertitude brings on disorder, renders property unstable, and endangers personal safety.

None of these evils exist in the United States. America is not yet gnawed by the vermin which devour Europe, by indestructible mendicity: thieves render not her forests dangerous; her public roads are not stained with blood shed by assassins. How should there be assassins and robbers? There are no beggars, no indigent persons, no subjects forced to steal the subsistence of others to procure one to themselves. Every man finds there lands to produce him articles of subsistence: it is not loaded with taxes, but renders to each, with usury, a recompense for his labour. A man who can live easy and honourably, never consents to dishonour himself by useless crimes, which deliver him to the torments of remorse, dishonour, and the vengeance of society.

The ravages of the seven years war were undoubtedly terrible; but as soon as the faulchion could be converted into a plough-share, the land became fertile, and misery disappeared. The American soldiers were citizens; and they were also proprietors before they became soldiers; they remained citizens in uniform, and returned to their professions on quitting it: they did not fight for money, nor by profession, but for their liberty, their wives, children, and property; and such soldiers never resembled the banditti of the old continent, who are paid for killing their fellow-creatures, and who kill on the highways for their own account, when peace obliges their masters to disband them. There has been seen in America (what the annals of the world present not in any state, except that of Rome) a General, adored by his soldiers, divest himself of his power as soon as his services became no longer necessary, and retire into the bosom of peace and obscurity: a numerous army, which was not paid, was seen generously to consent to disband without payment; the soldiers to retire,

tire, each to his home, without committing the least disorder, and where each tranquilly retook either his plough, or his first trade or profession; those trades which we in Europe look upon as vile.

The following advertisement is taken from the American papers, in which there are a thousand others of a like nature.

Two brothers, Captains who distinguished themselves during the war, returned at the peace to their trade of hat-making;—they inserted in the gazette an advertisement as follows:

“The brothers *Bickers* inform the public, that
“they are returned to their old profession of hatters,
“which they had abandoned to defend the liberty
“of their country. They hope that their fellow-ci-
“tizens will be pleased, in consideration of their
“courage and services, to favour them in their bu-
“siness, and prefer them to others.” What Euro-
pean Captain would put his name to a like advertise-
ment?

This is what results from liberty: but what is inconceivable in most European states, a military spirit reigns there, and its prejudices are predominant. War is the road to glory, ambition, and fortune; and to preserve to this profession its lustre and preponderance, it is an established principle, that a *standing army* is necessary to maintain order in society; that it ought always to threaten the citizens, although peaceful, to keep them in submission to authority. This useless burden, this pernicious spirit, is unknown to the United States;—public spirit, much more favourable to good order, takes its place, and peace and safety reign without *marechaussée* or spies, or that police which disparages the morals and characters of citizens. Public spirit supplies the place of all these means, whilst they will never supply the want of public spirit; nor, like it, produce the happiness of society.

In

In vain will prejudiced men exclaim, that this is declamation—I offer them facts. It is necessary to read the American gazettes—not those altered by the English gazette-writers, but those which are printed in America: these only can give a just idea of the situation of the United States.

The American should rather despise Europe, in remarking to us the continual slaughter we make of thieves and assassins; in comparing the immense number of dungeons, prisons, hospitals, and establishments of every kind, instituted to cure or palliate the incurable ulcers of the old institutions: in comparing this disgusting list with the very few murders and thefts committed in the United States, with the hospitals, truly *domestic* and humane, which are established there, with the happiness of each American family and their simple manners; and in proving to us, by their example, that a wise liberty regulates the social man, and renders useless those ruinous machines with which he is crushed, lest he should do any harm.

These are the men, the laws, and the government, which Europeans have calumniated. These men who are destined to regenerate the dignity of the human species!—These laws which scourge nothing but crimes,—which punish them every where, and are never silent in the face of power!—This government, which is the first that ever presented the image of a numerous family, well united, and completely happy; wherein power is just, because it circulates through every hand, and rests in none; wherein obedience, because it is voluntary, anticipates command; wherein administration is simple and easy; because it leaves industry to itself; wherein the magistrate has little to do, because the citizen is free, and that a citizen always respects the law and his fellow creatures! These are the prodigies which we calumniate: we, Europeans, enslaved by antiquated constitutions,

constitutions, and by the habitudes given to us by prejudices, of which we know not either the barbarity or the frivolousness! We speak well, but act badly; why, therefore, do we calumniate men, who not only speak but act well? If it be not permitted us to have their virtues, nor to enjoy their happiness, let us not decry them; let us respect that superiority to which we cannot attain.

It will, perhaps, be objected, that the government of England has deferred the conclusion of a treaty of commerce with the United States, under the pretext that their constitutions were not yet sufficiently established. But can it be imagined that the English, who trade in Turkey, with the Algerines, and at Grand Cairo, were serious when they decry and rejected commercial connexions with the United States, under the pretence that their legislation was not yet well enough established?

It cannot be doubted that the difference of position between the French and English merchants, respecting their governments, has a great influence upon their reciprocal prosperity; and for this reason, it should be incessantly repeated to the French government, that if it wishes to insure prosperity to its commerce, it ought to adopt the means, which are, *liberty of acting,—the right of protesting against the attempts made on that liberty,—and the certainty of justice,—without respect to persons:*—these are the basis of the genius, industry, and greatness of a state; and without which, a great commerce cannot exist: this basis may be easily conciliated with the French constitution.

Paris, February, 1789.

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APPENDIX;
CONSISTING OF
AUTHENTIC PAPERS
AND
ILLUSTRATIONS.

Added by the Editor..

APPENDIX.

Return of the whole Number of Persons within the several Districts of the United States, according to "an Act providing for the Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States;" passed March the 1st, 1791.

The return for South-Carolina having been made since the following Schedule was originally printed, the whole Enumeration is here given complete, except for the North-Western Territory, of which no Return has yet been published.

DISTRICTS.	Free white males of 16 years and upwards, including heads of families.	Free white males under 16 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
Vermont	22,435	22,328	40,505	255	16	85,539
N. Hampshire	36,086	34,851	70,160	630	158	141,885
Maine	24,384	24,748	46,870	538	NONE	96,540
Massachusetts	95,453	87,289	190,582	5463	NONE	378,787
Rhode-Island	16,019	15,799	32,652	3407	948	68,825
Connecticut	60,523	54,403	117,448	2808	2764	237,946
New-York	83,700	78,122	152,320	4654	21,324	340,120
New-Jersey	45,251	41,416	83,287	2762	11,423	184,139
Pennsylvania	110,788	106,948	206,363	6537	3737	434,373
Delaware	11,783	12,143	22,384	3899	8887	59,094
Maryland	55,915	51,339	101,395	8043	103,036	319,728
Virginia	110,936	116,135	215,046	12,866	292,627	747,610
Kentucky	15,154	17,057	28,922	114	12,430	73,677
N. Carolina	69,988	77,506	140,710	4975	100,572	393,751
S. Carolina	35,576	37,722	66,880	1801	107,094	249,073
Georgia	13,103	14,044	25,730	398	29,264	82,548
	807,094	791,850	1,541,263	59,150	694,280	3,893,635
	Free wh. males of 21 years and upwards.	Free males under 21 years of age.	Free white females.	All other persons.	Slaves.	Total.
S. W. Terriy.	6271	10,277	15,365	361	3417	35,691
N. ditto.	—	—	—	—	—	—

Schedule of the whole Number of Persons in the Territory of the United States of America, South of the River Ohio, as taken on the last Saturday of July, 1791, by the Captains of the Militia within the Limits of their respective Districts.

		Free white males of 21 years and upwards, including hds. of families	Free white males under 21 years.	Free white females, including heads of families.	All other free persons.	Slaves.	Total of each county.	Total of each district.
WASHINGTON DISTRICT.								
Counties.	Washington	1009	1792	2524	12	535	5872	
	Sullivan	806	1242	1995	107	297	4447	
	Greene	1293	2374	3580	40	454	7741	
	Hawkins	1204	1970	2921	68	807	6970	
	S. of F. Broad	681	1082	1627	66	163	3619	28,649
MERO DISTRICT.								
Counties.	Davidson	639	855	1288	18	659	3459	
	Sumner	404	582	854	8	348	2196	
	Tennessee	235	380	576	42	154	1387	7042
		6271	10,277	15,365	361	3417		35,691

Note.—There are several Captains who have not as yet returned the Schedules of the numbers of their Districts, namely;—in Greene County, three—in Davidson, one—and South of French-Board, one District.

September 19th, 1791.

W. BLOUNT.

By the Governor,
DANIEL SMITH, Secretary.

Truly stated from the original returns deposited in the office of the Secretary of State.

T. JEFFERSON.

October 24, 1791.

In

In point of size the towns in the United States may be ranked in this order:—Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, &c. In point of trade, New-York, Philadelphia, Boston, Charleston, Baltimore, &c.

From the preceding tables it is indubitable that the number of inhabitants in the United States considerably exceeded four millions in the year 1791, exclusive of those in the Northern Territory, and some other districts. If to this we add Dr. Franklin's calculation, "That the number of the inhabitants of America is double every twenty years," this number must be increased to considerably above eight millions in the year 1811, exclusive of emigrants from the Old World.

The English reader, we hope, will not be offended, if, in this place, we say a word or two on the population of Great-Britain. It is a current opinion, that the population of our island is yearly increasing. The fact is quite the reverse: but the assertion would signify nothing, if there were not incontestible proofs of it. The proofs are these:—

Number of houses in England and Wales, taken from the return of the surveyors of the house and window duties; wherein they are stated distinctly, *charged, chargeable and excused.*

Total of houses in 1759	.	.	986,482
_____ in 1761	.	.	980,692
_____ in 1777	.	.	952,734

Total of houses according to the hearth-books in 1690, as stated by Dr.

Davenant (see his works, vol. i. page 38) 1,319,215

In Scotland the number of houses paying the house and window duties was, in 1777, only 16,206.

If the district returns of the parishes are examined, it will be manifest, that a calculation of five-
persons

persons to every house is a large allowance. From all which this result is obvious—That the number of inhabitants in England and Wales is considerably short of *five millions*! that, perhaps, including Scotland, the *whole* island of Great-Britain does not exceed that number.

The curiosity of the present moment may allow us to cast our eye upon France, concerning this subject. The intendants of the provinces of France were ordered, in the years 1771 and 1772, to make a return of the number of inhabitants in their respective districts. The return of 1772 states the number to be 25,741,320. See *Recherches sur la population de la France, par M. Moheau.*

It would be a right measure in every government to cause a survey to be made annually of the number of inhabitants. It is done at Naples by order of the King, and is published annually in the Court Calenders. America will probably follow the example.

Observations on the Population of America. Written by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Printed at Philadelphia in the Year 1755.

Tables of the proportion of marriages to births, of deaths to births, of marriages to the numbers of inhabitants, &c. formed on observations made on the bills of mortality, christenings, &c. of populous cities, will not suit countries; nor will tables formed on observations made on full settled old countries, as Europe, suit new countries as America.

For people increase in proportion to the number of marriages, and that is greater in proportion to the ease and convenience of supporting a family. When families can be easily supported, more persons marry, and earlier in life.

In

In cities, where all trades, occupations, and offices are full, many delay until they can see how to bear the charges of a family; which charges are greater in cities, as luxury is more common; many live single during life, and continue servants to families, journeymen to trades, &c. hence cities do not by natural generation supply themselves with inhabitants; the deaths are more than the births.

In countries full settled the case must be nearly the same; all lands being occupied and improved to the height, those who cannot get land must labour for those who have it; when labourers are plenty, their wages will be low; by low wages a family is supported with difficulty; this difficulty deters many from marriage, who therefore long continue servants and single. Only as cities take supplies of people from the country, and thereby make a little more room in the country, marriage is a little more encouraged there, and the births exceed the deaths.

Great part of Europe is full settled with husbandmen, manufacturers, &c. and therefore cannot now much increase in people. Land being plenty in America, and so cheap as that a labouring man, who understands husbandry, can in a short time save money enough to purchase a piece of new land sufficient for a plantation, whereon he may subsist a family, such are not afraid to marry; for even if they look far enough forward to consider how their children, when grown, are to be provided for, they see that more land is to be had at rates equally easy, all circumstances considered.

Hence marriages in America are more general, and more generally early, than in Europe. And if it is reckoned there, that there is but one marriage per annum among one hundred persons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in Europe they have but four births to a marriage (many of their marriages being late) we may here reckon eight; of which,
if

if one half grow up, and our marriages are made, reckoning one with another, at twenty years of age, our people must at least be doubled every twenty years.

But notwithstanding this increase, so vast is the territory of North-America, that it will require many ages to settle it fully; and until it is fully settled, labour will never be cheap here, where no man continues long a labourer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues long a journeyman to a trade, but goes among these new settlers, and sets up for himself, &c.. Hence labour is no cheaper now in Pennsylvania than it was thirty years ago, though so many thousand labouring people have been imported from Germany and Ireland.

In proportion to the increase of the colonies, a vast demand is growing for British manufactures; a glorious market wholly in the power of Britain, in which foreigners cannot interfere, which will increase in a short time even beyond her power of supplying, though her whole trade should be to her colonies.

Of the Western Territory.

It is a mistake in those who imagine that the new state of Kentucky comprises the Western Territory of North-America. That new state includes but a small part of this great domain. The state of Kentucky is described to be bounded on the south by North-Carolina, on the north by Sandy creek, on the west by Cumberland river, making about two hundred and fifty miles in length, and two hundred miles in breadth; whereas the whole Western Territory is infinitely more extensive. The limits are unknown; but that part of it which was surveyed by Captain Hutchins, geographer to the Congress, he has given us a short account of. From his account,

account, because it is known to be authentic, we have extracted the following.

The part he surveyed lies between the 33d and 45th degrees of latitude, and the 78th and 94th degrees of longitude, containing an extent of territory, which, for healthfulness, fertility of soil, and variety of productions, is not perhaps surpassed by any on the habitable globe.

“ The lands comprehended between the river Ohio, at Fort-Pitt, and the Laurel mountain, and thence continuing the same breadth from Fort-Pitt to the Great Kanhawa river, may, according to my own observations, and those of the late Mr. Gist, of Virginia, be generally, and justly described as follows.

“ The vallies adjoining to the branches or springs of the middle forks of Youghiogeny, are narrow towards its source; but there is a considerable quantity of good farming grounds on the hills, near the largest branch of that river. The lands within a small distance of the Laurel mountain (through which the Youghiogeny runs) are in many places broken and stony, but rich and well timbered; and in some places, and particularly on Laurel creek, they are rocky and mountainous.

“ From the Laurel mountain to Monongahela, the first seven miles are good, level farming grounds, with fine meadows; the timber, white oak, chefnut, hickory, &c. The same kind of land continues southerly (twelve miles) to the upper branches or forks of this river, and about fifteen miles northerly to the place where the Youghiogeny falls into the Monongahela. The lands, for about eighteen miles in the same course of the last-mentioned river, on each side of it, though hilly, are rich and well timbered. The trees are walnut, locust, chefnut, poplar, and sugar or sweet maple. The low lands, near the river, are about a mile, and in several places

two miles wide. For a considerable way down the river, on the eastern side of it, the intervals are extremely rich, and about a mile wide. The upland for about twelve miles eastwardly, are uncommonly fertile, and well timbered; the low lands, on the western side, are narrow; but the uplands, on the eastern side of the river, both up and down, are excellent, and covered with sugar trees, &c.

“Such parts of the country which lie on some of the branches of the Monongahela, and across the heads of several rivers that run into the Ohio, though in general hilly, are exceedingly fruitful and well watered. The timber is walnut, chefnut, ash, oak, sugar trees, &c. and the interval or meadow lands are from two hundred and fifty yards to a quarter of a mile wide.

“The lands lying nearly in a north-westerly direction from the Great Kanhawa river to the Ohio, and thence north-easterly, and also upon Le Tort's creek, Little Kanhawa river, Buffaloe, Fishing, Weeling, and the two upper, and two lower, and several other very considerable creeks, (or what, in Europe, would be called large rivers) and thence east, and south-east to the river Monongahela, are, in point of quality, as follows.

“The borders or meadow lands are a mile, and in some places near two miles wide; and the uplands are in common of a most fertile soil, capable of abundantly producing wheat, hemp, flax, &c.

“The lands which lie upon the Ohio, at the mouths of, and between the above creeks, also consist of rich intervals and very fine farming grounds. The whole country abounds in bears, elks, buffaloe, deer, turkies, &c. An unquestionable proof of the extraordinary goodness of its soil! Indiana lies within the territory here described. It contains about three millions and an half of acres, and was granted to Samuel Wharton, William Trent, and
George

George Morgan, Esquires, and a few other persons, in the year 1768.

“Fort-Pitt stands at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers; in latitude $40^{\circ} 31' 44''$, and about five degrees westward of Philadelphia. In the year 1760, a small town, called Pitts-burgh, was built near Fort-Pitt, and about two hundred families resided in it; but upon the Indian war breaking out (in the month of May, 1763) they abandoned their houses, and retired into the fort.

“In the year 1765 the present town of Pittsburgh was laid out. It is built on the eastern bank of the river Monongahela, about two hundred yards from Fort-Pitt.

“The junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers forms the river Ohio, and this discharges itself into the Mississippi, (in latitude $36^{\circ} 43'$) about one thousand one hundred and eighty-eight computed miles from Fort-Pitt. The Ohio, in its passage to the Mississippi, glides through a pleasant, fruitful, and healthy country, and carries a great uniformity of breadth, from four hundred to six hundred yards, except at its confluence with the Mississippi, and for one hundred miles above it, where it is one thousand yards wide. The Ohio, for the greater part of the way to the Mississippi, has many meanders, or windings, and rising grounds upon both sides of it.

“The reaches in the Ohio are in some parts from two to four miles in length, and one of them, above the Muskingum river, called the Long Reach, is sixteen miles and an half long. The Ohio, about 100 miles above, or northerly of the Rapids, (formerly called the Falls) is in many places 700 yards wide; and as it approaches them, the high grounds on its borders gradually diminish, and the country becomes more level. Some of the banks, or heights

R

of

of this river, are at times overflowed by great freshes; yet there is scarce a place between Fort-Pitt and the Rapids, (a distance of 705 computed miles) where a good road may not be made; and horses employed in drawing up large barges (as is done on the margin of the river Thames in England, and the Seine in France) against a stream remarkably gentle, except in high freshes. The heights of the banks of the Ohio admit them every where to be settled, as they are not liable to crumble away.

“To these remarks it may be proper to add the following observations of the ingenious Mr. Lewis Evans. He says, that ‘the Ohio river, as the winter snows are thawed by the warmth or rains in the spring, rises in vast floods, in some places exceeding twenty feet in height, but scarce any where overflowing its high and upright banks. These floods,’ Mr. Evans adds, ‘continue of some height for at least a month or two, according to the late or early breaking up of the winter. Vessels from 100 to 200 tons burthen, by taking the advantage of these floods, may go from Pittsburgh to the sea with safety, as then the falls, rifts, and shoals, are covered to an equality with the rest of the rivers;’—and though the distance is upwards of 2000 miles from Fort-Pitt to the sea, yet as there are no obstructions to prevent vessels from proceeding both day and night, I am persuaded that this extraordinary inland voyage may be performed, during the season of the floods, by rowing, in sixteen or seventeen days.

“The navigation of the Ohio in a dry season, is rather troublesome from Fort-Pitt to the Mingo town (about 75 miles) but from thence to the Mississippi there is always a sufficient depth of water for barges, carrying from 100 to 200 tons burthen, built in the manner as those are which are used on the river Thames, between London and Oxford;—to wit, from 100 to 120 feet in the keel, sixteen to eighteen feet

feet in breadth, and four feet in depth, and when loaded, drawing about three feet water.

“ The Rapids, in a dry season, are difficult to descend with loaded boats or barges.

[But instead of the carrying place now used, it is intended to substitute a canal on the contrary side of the river.]

“ Most of the hills on both sides of the Ohio are filled with excellent coal, and a coal mine was in the year 1760, opened opposite to Fort-Pitt, on the river Monongahela, for the use of that garrison. Salt springs, as well as iron ore, and rich lead mines, are found bordering upon the river Ohio. One of the latter is opened on a branch of the Scioto river, and there the Indian natives supply themselves with a considerable part of the lead which they use in their wars and hunting.

“ About 584 miles below Fort-Pitt, and on the eastern side of the Ohio river, about three miles from it, at the head of a small creek or run, where are several large and miry salt springs, are found numbers of large bones, teeth, and tusks, commonly supposed to be those of elephants:—but the celebrated Doctor Hunter of London, in his ingenious and curious observations on these bones, &c. has supposed them to belong to some carnivorous animal, larger than an ordinary elephant.

“ On the north-western side of Ohio, about eleven miles below the Cherokee-river, on a high bank, are the remains of Fort-Massac, built by the French, and intended as a check to the southern Indians. It was destroyed by them in the year 1763. This is a high, healthy, and delightful situation. A great variety of game, buffaloe, bear, deer, &c. as well as ducks, geese, swans, turkies, pheasants, patridges, &c. abounds in every part of this country.

“ The Ohio, and the rivers emptying into it, afford green and other turtle, and fish of various

forts; particularly carp, sturgeon, perch, and cats; the two latter of an uncommon size, viz. perch from eight to twelve pounds weight, and cats from fifty to one hundred pounds weight.

“ The lands upon the Ohio, and its branches, are differently timbered according to their quality and situation. The high and dry lands are covered with red, white and black oak, hickory, walnut, red and white mulberry and ash trees, grape-vines, &c. the low and meadow lands are filled with sycamore, poplar, red and white mulberry, cherry, beach, elm, aspen, maple, or sugar trees, grape-vines, &c. and below, or southwardly of the Rapids, are several large cedar and cypress swamps, where the cedar and cypress trees grow to a remarkable size, and where also is a great abundance of canes, such as grow in South-Carolina. The country on both sides of the Ohio, extending south-easterly, and south-westerly from Fort-Pitt to the Mississippi, and watered by the Ohio river, and its branches, contains at least a million of square miles, and it may, with truth, be affirmed, that no part of the globe is blessed with a more healthful air, or climate; watered with more navigable rivers and branches communicating with the Atlantic Ocean, by the rivers Potowmack, James, Rappahannock, Mississippi, and St. Lawrence, or capable of producing, with less labour and expence, wheat, Indian corn, buck-wheat, rye, oats, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, rice, silk, pot-ash, &c. than the country under consideration. And although there are considerable quantities of high lands for about 250 miles (on both sides of the river Ohio) southwardly from Fort-Pitt, yet even the summits of most of the hills are covered with a deep rich soil, fit for the culture of flax and hemp; and it may also be added, that no soil can possibly yield larger crops of red and white clover, and other useful grass, than this does.

“ On

"On the north-west and south-east sides of the Ohio, below the great Kanhawa river, at a little distance from it, are extensive natural meadows, or savannahs. These meadows are from 20 to 50 miles in circuit. They have many beautiful groves of trees interspersed, as if by art, in them, and which serve as a shelter for the innumerable herds of buffaloe, deer, &c. with which they abound.

"I am obliged to a worthy friend and countryman for the following just and judicious observations. They were addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, in the year 1770, when secretary of state for the North-American department; and were written by Mr. Samuel Wharton of Philadelphia, who at that time resided in London, having some business there with Mr. Strahan, Mr. Almon, &c.

"No part of North-America," he says, "will require less encouragement for the production of naval stores, and raw materials for manufactories in Europe, and for supplying the West-India islands with lumber, provisions, &c. than the country of the Ohio;—and for the following reasons:—

"First, The lands are excellent, the climate temperate, the native grapes, silk worms, and mulberry trees, abound every where: hemp, hops, and rye, grow spontaneously in the vallies and low lands; lead and iron ore are plenty in the hills; salt springs are innumerable; and no soil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

"Second, The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; by which, and a short land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now (in the year 1772) be sent cheaper to the sea-port town of Alexandria, on the river Potowmack in Virginia (where General Braddock's transports landed his troops,) than any kind of merchandize is sent from Northampton to London.

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"Third,

“ Third, The river Ohio is, at all seasons of the year, navigable with large boats, like the west country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of February to April large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent to sea laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, pot-ash, &c.

“ Fourth, Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles, can be sent down the stream of the Ohio to West-Florida, and from thence to the West-India islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New-York or Philadelphia to these islands.

“ Fifth, Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles, may also be sent down the stream of the Ohio to the sea, and at least 50 per cent. cheaper than these articles were ever carried by land carriage, of only 60 miles, in Pennsylvania: where waggonage is cheaper than in any other part of North-America.

“ Sixth, The expence of transporting European manufactories from the sea to the Ohio, will not be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever the farmers or merchants of Ohio shall properly understand the business of transportation, they will build schooners, sloops, &c. on the Ohio, suitable for the West-India, or European markets; or, by having black-walnut, cherry-tree, oak, &c. properly sawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts, in the manner that is now done by the settlers near the upper parts of Delaware river in Pennsylvania, and thereon stow their hemp, iron, tobacco, &c. and proceed with them to New-Orleans.

“ It may not, perhaps, be amiss, to observe, that large quantities of flour are made in the distant (western) counties of Pennsylvania, and sent by an expensive land carriage to the city of Philadelphia, and from thence shipped to South-Carolina and to East and West Florida, there being little or no wheat raised

raised in these provinces. The river Ohio seems kindly designed by nature as the channel through which the two Floridas may be supplied with flour, not only for their own consumption, but also for the carrying on an extensive commerce with Jamaica and the Spanish settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Millstones in abundance are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio, and the country is every where well watered with large and constant springs and streams, for grist and other mills.

“ The passage from Philadelphia to Pensacola is seldom made in less than a month, and sixty shillings sterling per ton freight (consisting of sixteen barrels) is usually paid for flour, &c. thither. Boats carrying 800 or 1000 barrels of flour, may go in about the same time from the Ohio (even from Pittsburgh) as from Philadelphia to Pensacola; and for half the above freight the Ohio merchants would be able to deliver flour, &c. there in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charges of insurance, &c. as from thence to Pensacola.

“ This is not mere speculation; for it is a fact, that about the year 1746, there was a great scarcity of provisions at New-Orleans, and the French settlements, at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither in one winter, upwards of eight hundred thousand weight of flour.”

“ I shall now proceed to give a brief account of the several rivers and creeks which fall into the river Ohio.

“ Canawagy, when raised by freshes, is passable with small batteaux, to a little lake at its head;—from thence there is a portage of twenty miles to lake Erie, at the mouth of Jadaghque. The portage is seldom used, because Canawagy has scarcely any water in it in a dry season.

“ Bughaloons

" Bughaloons is not navigable, but is remarkable for extensive meadows bordering upon it.

" French Creek affords the nearest passage to lake Erie. It is navigable with small boats to Le Beuf, by a very crooked channel; the portage thence to Presquile, from an adjoining peninsula, is 15 miles. This is the usual route from Quebec to Ohio.

" Licking and Lacomic Creeks do not afford any navigation; but there is plenty of coals and stones for building in the hills which adjoin them.

" Toby's Creek is deep enough for batteaux for a considerable way up, thence by a short portage to the west branch of Susquehannah, a good communication is carried on between Ohio and the eastern parts of Pennsylvania.

" Moghulbughkitum is passable also by flat bottom boats in the same manner as Toby's Creek is to Susquehannah, and from thence to all the settlements in Northumberland county, &c. in Pennsylvania.

" Kishkeminetas is navigable in like manner as the preceding creeks, for between 40 and 50 miles, and good portages are found between Kishkeminetas, Juniatta, and Potowmack rivers.—Coal and salt are discovered in the neighbourhood of these rivers.

" Monongahela is a large river, and at its junction with the Allegheny river, stands Fort-Pitt. It is deep, and gentle, and navigable with batteaux and barges, beyond Red-Stone creek, and still farther with lighter craft. At sixteen miles from its mouth is Youghiogeny; this river is navigable with batteaux or barges, to the foot of Laurel-hill.

" Beaver Creek has water sufficient for flat bottom boats. At Kishkuskes, (about 16 miles up) are two branches of this creek, which spread opposite ways; one interlocks with French Creek and Cherage,—the other with Muskingum and Cayahoga; on this branch, about thirty-five miles above the forks,

forks, are many salt-springs.—Cayahoga is practicable with canoes about twenty miles farther.

“ Muskingum is a fine gentle river, confined by high banks, which prevent its floods from overflowing the surrounding land. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable, without any obstructions, by large batteaux or barges, to the Three Legs, and by small ones to a little lake at its head.

“ From thence to Cayahoga (the creek that leads to lake Erie) the Muskingum is muddy, and not very swift, but no where obstructed with falls or rifts. Here are fine uplands, extensive meadows, oak and mulberry trees fit for ship-building, and walnut, chestnut, and poplar trees, suitable for domestic services.—Cayahoga furnishes the best portage between Ohio and lake Erie; at its mouth it is wide and deep enough to receive large sloops from the lake. It will hereafter be a place of great importance.

“ Muskingum, in all its wide-extended branches, is surrounded by most excellent land, and abounds in springs, and conveniencies particularly adapted to settlements remote from sea navigations;—such as salt springs, coal, clay, and free stone. In 1784 a coal mine opposite to Lamenshicola mouth took fire, and continued burning about twelve months, but great quantities of coal still remain in it. Near the same place are excellent whetstones, and about eight miles higher up the river, is plenty of white and blue clay for glass works and pottery.

“ Hockhocking is navigable with large flat bottom boats between seventy and eighty miles; it has fine meadows with high banks, which seldom overflow, and rich uplands on its borders. Coal and quarries of free-stone are found about 15 miles up this creek.

“ Big Kanhawa falls into the Ohio upon its southeastern side, and is so considerable a branch of this river,

river, that it may be mistaken for the Ohio itself by persons ascending it. It is flow for ten miles, to little broken hills,—the low land is very rich, and of about the same breadth, (from the pipe hills to the falls) as upon the Ohio. After going ten miles up Kanhawa, the land is hilly, and the water a little rapid for 50 or 60 miles further to the falls, yet batteaux or barges may be easily rowed thither. These falls were formerly thought impassable; but late discoveries have proved, that a waggon road may be made through the mountain, which occasions the falls, and that by a portage of a few miles only, a communication may be had between the waters of Great Kanhawa and Ohio, and those of James river in Virginia.

“Tottery lies upon the south-eastern side of the Ohio, and is navigable with batteaux to the Ouasito mountains. It is a long river, has few branches, and interlocks with Red Creek, or Clinche’s River (a branch of the Cuttawa;) and has below the mountains, especially for 15 miles from its mouth, very good land. Here is a perceptible difference of climate between the upper and this part of Ohio. Here the large reed, or Carolina cane, grows in plenty, even upon the upland, and the winter is so moderate as not to destroy it. The same moderation of climate continues down Ohio, especially on the south-east side, to the rapids, and thence on both sides of that river to the Mississippi.

“Great Salt Lick Creek is remarkable for fine land, plenty of buffaloes, salt springs, white clay, and lime-stone. Small boats may go to the crossing of the war-path without any impediment. The salt springs render the waters unfit for drinking, but the plenty of fresh springs in their vicinity makes sufficient amends for this inconvenience.

“Kentucky is larger than the preceding creek; it is surrounded with high clay banks, fertile lands,
and

and large salt springs. Its navigation is interrupted by shoals, but passable with small boats to the gap, where the war-path goes through the Ouasfoto mountains.

"Scioto is a large gentle river, bordered with rich flats, or meadows. It overflows in the spring, and then spreads about half a mile, though when confined within its banks, it is scarce a furlong wide.

"If it floods early, it seldom retires within its banks in less than a month, and is not fordable frequently in less than two months.

"The Scioto, besides having a great extent of most excellent land on both sides of the river, is furnished with salt, on an eastern branch, and red bole on Necunsia Skeintat. The stream of Scioto is gentle and passable, with large batteaux or barges, for a considerable way, and with smaller boats near 200 miles, to a portage of only four miles to Sandusky.

"Sandusky is a considerable river abounding in level land; its stream gentle all the way to the mouth, where it is large enough to receive sloops. The northern Indians cross Lake Erie here from island to island, land at Sandusky, and go by a direct path to the Lower Shawanoe town, and thence to the gap of the Ouasfoto mountain, in their way to the Cuttawaga country.

"Little Mineami river is too small to navigate with batteaux. It has much fine land and several salt springs; its high banks and gentle current prevent its much overflowing the surrounding lands in freshes.

"Great Mineami, Assereniet or Rocky river, has a very stony channel; a swift stream, but no falls. It has several large branches, passable with boats a great way; one extending westward towards the Quiaghtena river, another towards a branch of Mineami river (which runs into Lake Erie,) to which there

there is a portage, and a third has a portage to the west branch of Sandusky, besides Mad Creek, where the French formerly established themselves. Rising ground, here and there a little stony, begins in the northern part of the peninsula, between the lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and extends across little Mineami river below the Forks, and southwardly along the Rocky river, to Ohio.

“Buffaloe river falls into the Ohio on the eastern side of it, at the distance of 92½ computed miles from Fort-Pitt. It is a very considerable branch of the Ohio; is 200 yards wide, navigable upwards of 150 miles for batteaux or barges, of 30 feet long, five feet broad, and three feet deep, carrying about seven tons, and can be navigated much farther with large canoes. The stream is moderate. The lands on both sides of the river are of a most luxuriant quality, for the production of hemp, flax, wheat, tobacco, &c. They are covered with a great variety of lofty and useful timber; as oak, hickory, mulberry, elm, &c. Several persons who have ascended this river say, that salt springs, coal, lime, and free-stone, &c. are to be found in a variety of places.

“The Wabash is a beautiful river, with high and upright banks, less subject to overflow than any other river, (the Ohio excepted) in this part of America. It discharges itself into the Ohio, one thousand and twenty-two miles below Fort-Pitt, in latitude $37^{\circ} 41'$.—At its mouth it is 270 yards wide; is navigable to Ouiatanon (412 miles) in the spring, summer, and autumn, with batteaux or barges, drawing about three feet water. From thence, on account of a rocky bottom, and shoal water, large canoes are chiefly employed, except when the river is swelled with rains, at which time it may be ascended with boats, such as I have just described, (197 miles further) to the Miami carrying place, which is nine miles from the Miami village, and this

this is situated on a river of the same name, that runs into the south-south-west part of Lake Erie.—The stream of the Wabash is generally gentle to Fort-Ouiatanon, and no where obstructed with falls, but is by several rapids, both above and below that fort, some of which are pretty considerable. There is also a part of the river, for about three miles, and 30 miles from the carrying place, where the channel is so narrow, that it is necessary to make use of setting poles instead of oars. The land on this river is remarkably fertile, and several parts of it are natural meadows, of great extent, covered with fine long grass. The timber is large and high, and in such variety, that almost all the different kinds growing upon the Ohio and its branches (but with a greater proportion of black and white mulberry-trees) may be found here.—A silver mine has been discovered about 28 miles above Ouiatanon, on the northern side of the Wabash, and probably others may be found hereafter. The Wabash abounds with salt springs, and any quantity of salt may be made from them, in the manner now done at the Saline in the Illinois country:—the hills are replenished with the best coal, and there is plenty of lime and free stone, blue, yellow and white clay, for glass works and pottery. Two French settlements are established on the Wabash, called Post Vincient and Ouiatanon; the first is 150 miles, and the other 262 miles from its mouth. The former is on the eastern side of the river, and consists of 60 settlers and their families. They raise Indian corn, wheat, and tobacco of an extraordinary good quality, superior, it is said, to that produced in Virginia. They have a fine breed of horses (brought originally by the Indians from the Spanish settlements on the western side of the river Mississippi), and large stocks of swine and black cattle. The settlers deal with the natives for furs and deer skins, to the amount of

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about 5000l. annually. Hemp of a good texture grows spontaneously in the low lands of the Wabash, as do grapes in the greatest abundance, having a black, thin skin, and of which the inhabitants in the autumn make a sufficient quantity (for their own consumption) of well-tasted red-wine. Hops, large and good are found in many places, and the lands are particularly adapted to the culture of rice. All European fruits;—apples, peaches, pears, cherries, currants, gooseberries, melons, &c. thrive well, both here and in the country bordering on the river Ohio.

“Ouiatanon is a small stockaded fort on the western side of the Wabash, in which about a dozen families reside. The neighbouring Indians are the Kickapoos, Musquitons, Pyankishaws, and a principal part of the Ouiatanons. The whole of these tribes consist, it is supposed, of about one thousand warriors. The fertility of soil, and diversity of timber in this country, are the same as in the vicinity of Post Vincient. The annual amount of skins and furs obtained at Ouiatanon is about 8000l. By the river Wabash, the inhabitants of Detroit move to the southern parts of Ohio and the Illinois country. Their rout is by the Miami river to a carrying place, which, as before stated, is nine miles to the Wabash, when this river is raised with freshes; but at other seasons, the distance is from 18 to 30 miles, including the portage. The whole of the latter is through a level country. Carts are usually employed in transporting boats and merchandize from the Miami to the Wabash river.

“The Shawanoe river empties itself on the eastern side of Ohio, about 95 miles southwardly of the Wabash river. It is 250 yards wide at its mouth, has been navigated 180 miles in batteaux of the construction of those mentioned in the preceding article, and from the depth of water, at that distance from
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its mouth, it is presumed, it may be navigated much further. The soil and timber of the lands upon this river are exactly the same as those upon Buffalo river.

“The Cherokee river discharges itself into the Ohio on the same side that the Shawanoe river does, that is, 13 miles below or southerly of it, and 11 miles above, or northerly of the place where Fort-Massac formerly stood, and 57 miles from the confluence of the Ohio with the river Mississippi. The Cherokee river has been navigated 900 miles from its mouth. At the distance of 220 miles from thence, it widens from 400 yards, (its general width) to between two and three miles, and continues this breadth for near thirty miles farther. The whole of this distance is called the Muscle Shoals. Here the channel is obstructed with a number of islands, formed by trees and drifted wood, brought hither, at different seasons of the year, in freshes and floods. In passing these islands, the middle of the widest intermediate water is to be navigated, as there it is deepest. From the mouth of the Cherokee river to Muscle Shoals the current is moderate, and both the high and low lands are rich, and abundantly covered with oaks, walnut, sugar-trees, hickory, &c. About 200 miles above these shoals is, what is called, the Whirl, or Suck, occasioned, I imagine, by the high mountain, which there confines the river (supposed to be the Laurel mountain.) The Whirl, or Suck, continues rapid for about three miles. Its width about fifty yards. Ascending the Cherokee river, and at about 100 miles from the Suck, and upon the southeastern side of that river, is Highwassee river. Vast tracts of level and rich land border on this river; but at a small distance from it, the country is much broken, and some parts of it produce only pine trees. Forty miles higher up the Cherokee river, on the north-western side, is Clinche's river. It is 150 yards

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wide,

wide, and about fifty miles up it several families are settled. From Clinche's to Tennessee river is one hundred miles. It comes in on the eastern side, and is 250 yards wide. About ten miles up this river is a Cherokee town, called Chota, and further up this branch are several other Indian towns, possessed by Indians, called, the Overhill Cherokees. The navigation of this branch is much interrupted by rocks, as is also the river called French Broad, which comes into the Cherokee river fifty miles above the Tennessee, and on the same side. One hundred and fifty miles above French Broad is Long-Island, (three miles in length) and from thence to the source of the Cherokee river is sixty miles, and the whole distance is so rocky as to be scarcely navigable with a canoe.

"By the Cherokee river, the emigrants from the frontier counties of Virginia and North-Carolina, pass to the settlements in West-Florida, upon the river Mississippi. They embark at Long-Island.

"I will now proceed to give a description of that part called the Illinois country, lying between the Mississippi westerly, the Illinois river northerly, the Wabash easterly, and the Ohio southerly.

"The land at the confluence, or fork of the rivers Mississippi and Ohio, is above twenty feet higher than the common surface of these rivers; yet so considerable are the spring floods, that it is generally overflowed for about a week, as are the lands for several miles back in the country.—The soil at the fork is composed of mud, earth, and sand, accumulated from the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It is exceedingly fertile, and in its natural state yields hemp, pea-vines, grass, &c. and a great variety of trees, and in particular the aspen tree, of an unusual height and thickness.

"For 25 miles up the Mississippi (from the Ohio) the country is rich, level, and well timbered; and then

then several gentle rising grounds appear, which gradually diminish at the distance of between four and five miles eastward from the river. From thence to the Kaskaskias river is 65 miles. The country is a mixture of hills and vallies; some of the former are rocky and steep; but they, as well as the vallies, are shaded with fine oaks, hickory, walnut, ash, and mulberry trees, &c. Some of the high grounds afford most pleasant situations for settlements. Their elevated and airy positions, together with the great luxuriance of the soil, every where yielding plenty of grass, and useful plants, promise health, and ample returns to industrious settlers.

“Many quarries of lime, free-stone, and marble, have been discovered in this part of the country.

“Several creeks and rivers fall into the Mississippi, in the above distance (of 65 miles), but no remarkable ones, except the rivers à Vase and Kaskaskias: the former is navigable for batteaux about 60, and the latter for about 130 miles. Both these rivers run through a rich country, abounding in extensive, natural meadows, and numberless herds of buffaloe, deer, &c.

“The high grounds, just mentioned, continue along the eastern side of the Kaskaskias river, at a small distance from it, for the space of five miles and a half, to the Kaskaskias village; then they incline more towards that river, and run nearly parallel with the eastern bank of the Mississippi, at the distance of about three miles in some parts, and four miles in other parts from it. These are principally composed of lime and free-stone, and from 100 to 130 feet high, divided in several places by deep cavities, through which many small rivulets pass before they fall into the Mississippi. The sides of these hills, fronting this river, are in many places perpendicular, and appear like solid pieces of stone masonry, of various colours, figures, and sizes.

"The low land between the hills and the Mississippi begins on the north side of the Kaskaskias river, and continues for three miles above the river Missouri, where a high ridge terminates it, and forms the eastern bank of the Mississippi. This interval land is level, has few trees, and is of a very rich soil; yielding shrubs and most fragrant flowers, which, added to the number and extent of meadows and ponds dispersed through this charming valley, render it exceedingly beautiful and agreeable.

"In this vale stand the following villages, viz. Kaskaskias, which, as already mentioned, is five miles and a half up a river of the same name, running northerly and southerly. This village contains 80 houses, many of them well built—several of stone, with gardens and large lots adjoining. It consists of about 500 white inhabitants, and between four and five hundred negroes. The former have large stocks of black cattle, swine, &c.

"Three miles northerly of Kaskaskias, is a village of Illinois Indians (of the Kaskaskias tribe) containing about 210 persons and 60 warriors. They were formerly brave and warlike, but are degenerated into a drunken and debauched tribe, and so indolent, as scarcely to procure a sufficiency of skins and furs to barter for clothing.

"Nine miles further northward than the last mentioned village, is another, called La Prairie du Rocher, or the Rock Meadows. It consists of one hundred white inhabitants, and eighty negroes.

"Three miles northerly of this place, on the banks of the Mississippi, stood Fort-Chartres. It was abandoned in the year 1772, as it was rendered untenable by the constant washings of the River Mississippi in high floods.—The village of Fort-Chartres, a little southward of the fort, contained so few inhabitants as not to deserve my notice.

"One mile higher up the Mississippi than Fort-Chartres,

Chartres, is a village settled by 170 warriors of the Piorias and Mitchigamias (two other tribes of the Illinois Indians). They are as idle and debauched as the tribe of Kaskaskias which I have just described.

“ Four miles higher than the preceding village, is St. Philip’s. It was formerly inhabited by about a dozen families, but at present is possessed only by two or three. The others have retired to the western side of the Mississippi.

“ Forty-five miles further northwards than St. Philip’s (and one mile up a small river on the southern side of it) stands the village of Cahokia. It has 50 houses, many of them well built, and 300 inhabitants, possessing 80 negroes, and large stocks of black cattle, swine, &c.

“ Four miles above Cahokia, on the western or Spanish side of the Mississippi, stands the village of St. Louis, on a high piece of ground. It is the most healthy and pleasurable situation of any known in this part of the country. Here the Spanish commandant and the principal Indian traders reside; who, by conciliating the affections of the natives, have drawn all the Indian trade of the Missouri, part of that of the Mississippi (northwards) and of the tribes of Indians residing near the Ouiskonsing and Illinois rivers, to this village. In St. Louis are 120 houses, mostly built of stone. They are large and commodious. This village has 800 inhabitants, chiefly French;—some of them have had a liberal education, are polite, and hospitable. They have about 150 negroes, and large stocks of black cattle, &c.

“ Twelve miles below, or southerly of Fort-Chartres, on the western bank of the Mississippi, and nearly opposite to the village of Kaskaskias, is the village of St. Genevieve, or Missire. It contains upwards of 100 houses, and 460 inhabitants, besides negroes.

negroes. This and St. Louis are all the villages that are upon the western or Spanish side of the Mississippi.

"Four miles below St. Genevieve, (on the western bank of the Mississippi,) at the mouth of a creek, is a hamlet, called the Saline. Here all the salt is made which is used in the Illinois country, from a salt spring that is at this place.

"In the several villages on the Mississippi, which I have just described, there were, so long ago as the year 1771, twelve hundred and seventy-three fencible men.

"The ridge which forms the eastern bank of the Mississippi, above the Missouri river, continues northerly to the Illinois river, and then directs its course along the eastern side of that river for about 220 miles, when it declines in gentle slopes, and ends in extensive rich savannahs. On the top of this ridge, at the mouth of the Illinois river, is an agreeable and commanding situation for a fort, and though the ridge is high and steep (about 130 feet high), and rather difficult to ascend, yet when ascended, it affords a most delightful prospect.—The Mississippi is distinctly seen from its summit for more than twenty miles, as are the beautiful meanderings of the Illinois river for many leagues;—next a level, fruitful meadow presents itself, of at least one hundred miles in circuit on the western side of the Mississippi, watered by several lakes, and shaded by small groves or copses of trees, scattered in different parts of it, and then the eye with rapture surveys, as well the high lands bordering upon the river Missouri, as those at a greater distance up the Mississippi. In fine, this charming ridge is covered with excellent grass, large oak, walnut-trees, &c. and at the distance of about nine miles from the Mississippi, up the Illinois river, are seen many large savannahs, or meadows, abounding in buffaloe, deer, &c.

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" In ascending the Mississippi, Cape au Gres particularly attracted my attention. It is about eight leagues above the Illinois river, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, and continues above five leagues on that river. There is a gradual descent back to delighted meadows, and to beautiful and fertile uplands, watered by several rivulets, which fall into the Illinois river, between thirty and forty miles from its entrance into the Mississippi, and into the latter at Cape au Gres. The distance from the Mississippi to the River Illinois across the country, is lessened or increased, according to the windings of the former river;—the smallest distance is at Cape au Gres, and there it is between four and five miles. The lands in this intermediate space between the above two rivers are rich, almost beyond parallel, covered with large oaks, walnut, &c. and not a stone is to be seen except upon the sides of the river. It is even acknowledged by the French inhabitants, that if settlements were only begun at Cape au Gres, those upon the Spanish side of the Mississippi would be abandoned, as the former would excite a constant succession of settlers, and intercept all the trade of the upper Mississippi.

" The Illinois river furnishes a communication with Lake Michigan, by the Chicago river, and by two portages between the latter and the Illinois river; the longest of which does not exceed four miles.

" The Illinois country is in general of a superior soil to any other part of North America that I have seen. It produces fine oak, hickory, cedar, mulberry-trees, &c. some dying roots and medicinal plants;—hops and excellent wild grapes, and in the year 1769, one hundred and ten hogshheads of well-tasted and strong wine were made by the French settlers from these grapes,—a large quantity of sugar is also annually made from the juice of the maple-tree; and as the mulberry-trees are long and numerous,

rous, I presume the making of silk will employ the attention and industry of the settlers, when the country is more fully inhabited than it is at present, and especially as the winters are much more moderate, and favourable for the breed of silk worms, than they are in many of the sea-coast provinces.—Indigo may likewise be successfully cultivated (but not more than two cuttings in a year); wheat, peas, and Indian corn thrive well, as does every sort of grain and pulse, that is produced in any of the old colonies. Great quantities of tobacco are also yearly raised by the inhabitants of the Illinois, both for their own consumption, and that of the Indians; but little has hitherto been exported to Europe. Hemp grows spontaneously, and is of a good texture; its common height is 10 feet, and its thickness three inches (the latter reckoned within about a foot of the root), and with little labour any quantity may be cultivated. Flax seed has hitherto been only raised in small quantities. There has however been enough produced to shew that it may be sown to the greatest advantage. Apples, pears, peaches, and all other European fruits, succeed admirably. Iron, copper, and lead mines, as also salt springs, have been discovered in different parts of this territory. The two latter are worked on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, with considerable advantage to their owners. There is plenty of fish in the rivers, particularly cat, carp, and perch, of an uncommon size.—Savannahs, or natural meadows, are both numerous and extensive; yielding excellent grass, and feeding great herds of buffalo, deer, &c.—Ducks, teal, geese, swans, cranes, pelicans, turkeys, pheasants, partridges, &c. such as are seen in the sea-coast colonies, are in the greatest variety and abundance.—In short, every thing that a reasonable mind can desire is to be found, or may, with little pains, be produced here.

“Niagara

“Niagara fort is a most important post. It secures a greater number of communications through a larger country than probably any other pass in interior America;—it stands at the entrance of a strait, by which lake Ontario is joined to lake Erie, and the latter is connected with the three great lakes, Huron, Michigan, and Superior. About nine miles above Fort Niagara the carrying place begins. It is occasioned by the stupendous cataract of that name. The quantity of water which tumbles over this fall is unparalleled in America; its height is not less than 137 feet. This fall would interrupt the communication between the lakes Ontario and Erie, if a road was not made up the hilly country that borders upon the strait. This road extends to a small post eighteen miles from Fort Niagara. Here the traveller embarks in a batteau or canoe, and proceeds eighteen miles to a small fort at Lake Erie. It may be proper also to add, that at the end of the first two miles, in the last-mentioned distance of 18 miles, the stream of the river is divided by a large island, above nine miles in length; and at the upper end of it, about a mile from Lake Erie, are three or four islands, not far from each other;—these islands, by interrupting and confining the waters discharged from the lake, greatly increase the rapidity of the stream; which indeed is so violent, that the stiffest gale is scarcely sufficient to enable a large vessel to stem it; but it is successfully resisted in small batteaux or canoes, that are rowed near the shore.

“Lake Erie is about 225 miles in length, and upon a medium about 40 miles in breadth. It affords a good navigation for shipping of any burthen. The coast, on both sides of the lake, is generally favourable for the passage of batteaux and canoes. Its banks in many places have a flat sandy shore, particularly to the eastward of the peninsula called Long-Point, which extends into the lake, in a south-east-
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ern direction, for upwards of 18 miles, and is more than five miles wide in the broadest part; but the isthmus, by which it joins the continent, is scarcely two hundred yards wide. The peninsula is composed of sand, and is very convenient to haul boats out of the surf upon (as is almost every other part of the shore) when the lake is too rough for rowing or sailing; yet there are some places where, in boisterous weather, (on account of their great perpendicular height,) it would be dangerous to approach, and impossible to land. Most of these places are marked in my map with the letter X.

" Lake Erie has a great variety of fine fish, such as sturgeon, eel, white fish, trout, perch, &c.

" The country, northward of this lake, is in many parts swelled with moderate hills, but no high mountains. The climate is temperate, and the air healthy. The lands are well timbered (but not generally so rich as those upon the southern side of the lake), and for a considerable distance from it, and for several miles eastward of Cayahoga river, they appear quite level and extremely fertile; and except where extensive savannahs, or natural meadows intervene, are covered with large oaks, walnut, ash, hickory, mulberry, sassafras, &c. &c. and produce a great variety of shrubs and medicinal roots.—Here also is great plenty of buffaloe, deer, turkies, partridges, &c.

" Fort Detroit is of an oblong figure, built with stockades, and advantageously situated, with one entire side commanding the river, called Detroit. This fort is near a mile in circumference, and encloses about one hundred houses, built in a regular manner, with parallel streets, crossing each other at right angles. Its situation is delightful, and in the centre of a pleasant, fruitful country.

" The strait St. Clair (commonly called the Detroit river) is at its entrance more than three miles wide, but in ascending it, its width perceptibly diminishes,

minishes, so that opposite to the fort (which is 18 miles from Lake Erie) it does not exceed half a mile in width. From thence to Lake St. Clair it widens to more than a mile. The channel of the strait is gentle and wide, and deep enough for shipping of great burden, although it is incommoded by several islands, one of which is more than seven miles in length. These islands are of a fertile soil, and from their situation afford a very agreeable appearance. For eight miles below, and the same distance above Fort Detroit, on both sides of the river, the country is divided into regular and well-cultivated plantations, and from the contiguity of the farmers' houses to each other, they appear as two long extended villages. The inhabitants, who are mostly French, are about 2000 in number, 500 of whom are as good marksmen, and as well accustomed to the woods, as the Indian natives themselves. They raise large stocks of black cattle, and great quantities of corn, which they grind by wind-mills and manufacture into excellent flour. The chief trade of Detroit consists in a barter of coarse European goods with the natives for furs, deer skins, tallow, &c. &c.

"The rout from Lake St. Clair to Lake Huron is up a strait or river, about 400 yards wide. This river derives itself from Lake Huron, and at the distance of 33 miles loses itself in Lake St. Clair. It is in general rapid, but particularly so near its source: its channel, and also that of Lake St. Clair, are sufficiently deep for shipping of a very considerable burthen. This strait has several mouths, and the lands lying between them are fine meadows. The country on both sides of it, for 15 miles, has a very level appearance, but from thence to Lake Huron it is in many places broken, and covered with white pines, oaks, maple, birch, and beech."

Thoughts on the Duration of the American Commonwealth.

THERE is a greater probability that the duration of the American commonwealth will be longer than any empire that has hitherto existed. For it is a truth, universally admitted, that all the advantages which ever attended any of the monarchies in the old world, all center in the new, together with many others which they never enjoy. The four great empires, and the dominions of Charlemaign and the Turks, all rose by conquests—none by the arts of peace. On the contrary, the territory of the United States has been planted and reared by a union of liberty, good conduct, and all the comforts of domestic virtue.

All the greater monarchies were formed by the conquest of kingdoms, different in arts, manners, language, temper, or religion, from the conquerors; so that the union, though in some cases very strong, was never the real and intimate connection of the same people; and this circumstance principally accelerated their ruin, and was absolutely the cause of it in some. This will be very different in the Americans. They will, in their greatest extent and population, be one and the same people—the same in language, religion, laws, manners, tempers and pursuits; for the small variation in some districts, owing to the settlement of Germans, is an exception so very slight, that in a few ages it will be unknown.

The Assyrian and Roman empires were of very slow growth, and therefore lasted the longest; but still their increase was by conquest, and the union of dissonant parts. The Persian and Macedonian monarchies were soon founded and presently overturned; the former not lasting so long as the Assyrian, nor a sixth of the duration of the Roman; and as to the Macedonian, it lasted but six years. This advantage
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of a slow growth is strong in favour of the Americans; the wonderful increase of their numbers is the natural effect of plenty of land, a good climate, and a mild and beneficent government, in which corruption and tyranny are wholly unknown. Some centuries are already past since their first settlement, and many more will pass before their power appears in its full splendour; but the quickness of a growth that is entirely natural will carry with it no marks of decay, being entirely different from monarchies founded by force of arms. The Roman empire perished by the hands of northern barbarians, whom the masters of the world disdained to conquer: it will not be so with the Americans; they spread gradually over the whole continent, insomuch that two hundred years hence there probably will be nobody but themselves in the whole northern continent: from whence therefore should their Goths and Vandals come? Nor can they ever have any thing to fear from the south; first, because that country will never be populous, owing to the possession of mines: secondly, there are several nations and languages planted and remaining in it: thirdly, the most considerable part of it lies in the torrid zone; a region that never yet sent forth nations of conquerors.

In extent the habitable parts of North-America exceed that of any of the four empires, and consequently can feed and maintain a people much more numerous than the Assyrians or the Romans. The situation of the region is so advantageous that it leaves nothing to be wished for; it can have no neighbours from whom there is a possibility of attack or molestation; it will possess all the solid advantages of the Chinese empire, without the fatal neighbourhood of the Tartars.

It will have further the singular felicity of all the advantages of an island, that is, a freedom from the attacks of others, and too many difficulties, with

too great a distance, to engage in enterprises that heretofore proved the ruin of other monarchies.

The soil, the climate, production, and face of the continent, are formed by nature for a great, independent, and permanent government: fill it with people who will of themselves, of course, possess all sorts of manufactures, and you will find it yielding every necessary and convenience of life. Such a vast tract of country, possessing such singular advantages, becoming inhabited by one people, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, and having the same manners; attaining a population equal to that of the greatest empire; sprung from an active and industrious nation, who have transfused into them their own industry and spirit, and seen them worthy of their original; inhabiting a soil not dangerously fertile, nor a clime generally conducive to effeminacy; accustomed to commerce: such a people must found a commonwealth as indissoluble as humanity will allow. Suffice it for England, that she will have been the origin of a commonwealth, greater and more durable than any former monarchy; that her language and her manners will flourish among a people who will one day become a splendid spectacle in the vast eye of the universe. This flattering idea of immortality no other nation can hope to attain.

And here let me make an observation that should animate the authors in the English language with an ardour that cannot be infused into those of any other nation; it is the pleasing idea of living among so great a people, through almost a perpetuity of fame, and under almost an impossibility of becoming, like the Greek and Latin tongues, dead; known only by the learned.—Increasing time will bring increasing readers, until their names become repeated with pleasure by above an hundred millions of people!

A. State

A State of the Commercial Intercourse between the United States of America and Foreign Nations. Written in the Month of June, 1792. By Thomas Jefferson, Esq; Secretary of State to the said United States.

The countries with which the United States have had their chief commercial intercourse, are Spain, Portugal, France, Great-Britain, the United Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and their American possessions; and the articles of export which constitute the basis of that commerce, with their respective amounts, are—

Bread stuff, that is to say, bread-grains, meals, and bread, to the annual amount of		Dols.
	- - - - -	7,649,887
Tobacco	- - - - -	4,349,567
Rice	- - - - -	1,753,796
Wood	- - - - -	1,263,534
Salted fish	- - - - -	941,696
Pot and pearl ash	- - - - -	839,093
Salted meats	- - - - -	599,130
Indigo	- - - - -	537,379
Horses and mules	- - - - -	339,753
Whale oil	- - - - -	252,591
Flax seed	- - - - -	236,072
Tar, pitch, and turpentine	- - - - -	217,177
Live provisions	- - - - -	137,743
Ships		
Foreign goods	- - - - -	620,274

To descend to articles of smaller value than these, would lead into a minuteness of detail neither necessary nor useful to the present object.

The proportions of our exports, which go to the nations before mentioned, and to their dominions, respectively, are as follows:

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	Dols.
To Spain and its dominions - - -	2,005,907
Portugal and its dominions - - -	1,283,462
France and its dominions - - -	4,698,735
Great-Britain and its dominions - -	9,363,416
The U. Netherlands and their dominions	1,963,880
Denmark and its dominions - - -	224,415
Sweden and its dominions - - -	47,240

Our Imports from the same countries are—

Spain and its dominions - - - -	335,110
Portugal and its dominions - - - -	595,763
France and its dominions - - - -	2,068,348
Great-Britain and its dominions - -	15,285,428
United Netherlands and their dominions	1,172,692
Denmark and its dominions - - - -	351,394
Sweden and its dominions - - - -	14,325

These imports consist mostly of articles on which industry has been exhausted.

Our navigation, depending on the same commerce, will appear by the following statement of the tonnage of our own vessels, entering into our ports, from those several nations and their possessions, in one year, that is to say, from October, 1789, to September, 1790, inclusive, as follows:

	Tons.
Spain - - - - -	19,695
Portugal - - - - -	23,576
France - - - - -	116,410
Great-Britain - - - - -	43,580
United Netherlands - - - - -	58,858
Denmark - - - - -	14,655
Sweden - - - - -	750

Of our commercial objects, Spain receives favourably our bread stuff, salted fish, wood, ships, tar, pitch, and turpentine. On our meals, however, as well as on those of other foreign countries, when re-exported to their colonies, they have lately imposed

imposed duties of from half a dollar to two dollars the barrel, the duties being so proportioned to the current price of their own flour, as that both together are to make the constant sum of nine dollars per barrel.

They do not discourage our rice, pot and pearl ash, salted provisions, or whale oil: but these articles being in small demand at their markets, are carried thither but in a small degree. Their demand for rice, however, is increasing. Neither tobacco nor indigo are received there. Our commerce is permitted with their Canary Islands, under the same conditions.

Themselves and their colonies are the actual consumers of what they receive from us.

Our navigation is free with the kingdom of Spain; foreign goods being received there in our ships, on the same conditions as if carried in their own, or in the vessels of the country of which such goods are the manufacture or produce.

Portugal receives favourably our grain and bread, salted fish and other salted provisions, wood, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

For flax-seed, pot and pearl ash, though not discouraged, there is little demand.

Our ships pay 20 per cent. on being sold to their subjects, and are then free bottoms.

Foreign goods, (except those of the East-Indies) are received on the same footing in our vessels as in their own, or any others; that is to say, on general duties of from twenty to twenty-eight per cent. and consequently our navigation unobstructed by them. Tobacco, rice, and meals, are prohibited.

Themselves and their colonies consume what they receive from us.

These regulations extend to the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape de Verd Islands, except that in these meals and rice are received freely.

France

France receives favourably our bread stuff, rice, wood, pot and pearl ashes.

A duty of five sous the kental, or nearly four and a half cents, is paid on our tar, pitch, and turpentine. Our whale oil pays six livres the kental, and are the only foreign whale oils admitted. Our indigo pays five livres on the kental; their own, two and an half: but a difference of quality, still more than a difference of duty, prevents its seeking that market.

Salted beef is received freely for re-exportation, but if for home consumption, it pays five livres the kental. Other salted provisions pay that duty in all cases, and salted fish is made lately to pay the prohibitory one of twenty livres in the kental.

Our ships are free to carry thither all foreign goods which may be carried in their own or any other vessels, except tobaccos not of our own growth; and they participate with their's the exclusive carriage of our whale oils and tobaccos.

During their former government, our tobacco was under a monopoly, but paid no duties; and our ships were freely sold in their ports, and converted into national bottoms. The first National Assembly took from our ships this privilege: they emancipated tobacco from its monopoly, but subjected it to duties of eighteen livres fifteen sous the kental, carried in their own vessels, and twenty-five livres carried in ours, a difference more than equal to the freight of the article.

They and their colonies consume what they receive from us.

Great-Britain receives our pot and pearl ashes free, while those of other nations pay a duty of two shillings and three pence the kental. There is an equal distinction in favour of our bar iron, of which article, however, we do not produce enough for our own use. Woods are free from us, whilst they pay
some

Some small duty from other countries. Our tar and pitch pay 11d. sterling the barrel; from other alien countries they pay about a penny and a third more.

Our tobacco, for their own consumption, pays 1s. 3d. sterling the pound, custom and excise, besides heavy expences of collection. And rice, in the same case, pays 7s. 4d. sterling the hundred weight; which rendering it too dear as an article of common food, it is consequently used in very small quantity.

Our salted fish, and other salted provisions, except bacon, are prohibited. Bacon and whale oil are under prohibitory duties; so are our grains, meals, and bread, as to internal consumption, unless in times of such scarcity as may raise the price of wheat to 50s. sterling the quarter, and other grains and meals in proportion.

Our ships, though purchased and navigated by their own subjects, are not permitted to be used, even in their trade with us.

While the vessels of other nations are secured by standing laws, which cannot be altered but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the British legislature, in carrying thither any produce or manufacture of the country to which they belong, which may be lawfully carried in any vessels, ours, with the same prohibition of what is foreign, are further prohibited by a standing law (12 Car. II. 28. § 3) from carrying thither all and any of our own domestic productions and manufactures. A subsequent act, indeed, authorised their executive to permit the carriage of our own productions in our own bottoms, at its sole discretion; and the permission has been given from year to year by proclamation, but subject every moment to be withdrawn on that single will, in which event our vessels having any thing on board, stand interdicted from the entry of all British ports. The disadvantage of a tenure which may be so suddenly discontinued was experienced

enced by our merchants on a late occasion, when an official notification that this law would be strictly enforced, gave them just apprehensions for the fate of their vessels and cargoes dispatched or destined to the ports of Great-Britain. The minister of that court, indeed, frankly expressed his personal conviction that the words of the order went farther than was intended, and so he afterwards officially informed us; but the embarrassments of the moment were real and great, and the possibility of their renewal lays our commerce to that country under the same species of discouragement as to other countries where it is regulated by a single legislator; and the distinction is too remarkable not to be noticed, that our navigation is excluded from the security of fixed laws, while that security is given to the navigation of others.

Our vessels pay their ports 1s. 9d. sterling per ton, light and trinity dues, more than is paid by British ships, except in the port of London, where they pay the same as British.

The greater part of what they receive from us is re-exported to other countries, under the useless charges of an intermediate deposit and double voyage. From tables published in England, and composed, as is said, from the books of their custom-houses, it appears that of the indigo imported there in the years 1773—4—5, one third was re-exported; and from a document of authority, we learn that of the rice and tobacco imported there before the war, four-fifths were re-exported. We are assured, indeed, that the quantities sent thither for re-exportation since the war, are considerably diminished, yet less so than reason and national interest would dictate. The whole of our grain is re-exported when wheat is below 50s. the quarter, and other grains in proportion.

The United Netherlands prohibit our pickled beef
and

and pork, meals and bread of all sorts, and lay a prohibitory duty on spirits distilled from grain.

All other of our productions are received on varied duties, which may be reckoned on a medium at about three per cent.

They consume but a small proportion of what they receive; the residue is partly forwarded for consumption in the inland parts of Europe, and partly re-shipped to other maritime countries. On the latter proportion they intercept between us and the consumer so much of the value as is absorbed by the charges attending an intermediate deposit.

Foreign goods, except some East-India articles, are received in vessels of any nation.

Our ships may be sold and naturalized there with exceptions of one or two privileges, which somewhat lessen their value.

Denmark lays considerable duties on our tobacco and rice carried in their own vessels, and half as much more if carried in ours; but the exact amount of these duties is not perfectly known here. They lay such as amount to prohibitions on our indigo and corn.

Sweden receives favourably our grains and meals, salted provisions, indigo, and whale oil.

They subject our rice to duties of sixteen mills the pound weight carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. additional on that, or 22,410 mills, carried in ours or any others. Being thus rendered too dear as an article of common food, little of it is consumed with them. They consume more of our tobaccos, which they take circuitously through Great-Britain, levying heavy duties on them also; their duties of entry, town duties, and excise, being 4 dols. 34 cents. the hundred weight, if carried in their own vessels, and of 40 per cent. on that additional, if carried in our own or any other vessels.

They prohibit altogether our bread, fish, pot and
pearl

pearl ashes, flax-seed, tar, pitch and turpentine, wood (except oak timber and masts), and all foreign manufactures.

Under so many restrictions and prohibitions, our navigation with them is reduced almost to nothing.

With our neighbours, an order of things much harder presents itself.

Spain and Portugal refuse to those parts of America which they govern, all direct intercourse with any people but themselves. The commodities in mutual demand between them and their neighbours must be carried to be exchanged in some port of the dominant country, and the transportation between that and the subject state must be in a domestic bottom.

France, by a standing law, permits her West-India possessions to receive directly our vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine, rice and maize, and prohibits our other bread stuff; but a suspension of this prohibition having been left to the colonial legislatures in times of scarcity, it was formerly suspended occasionally, but latterly without interruption.

Our fresh and salted provisions (except pork) are received in their islands under a duty of three colonial livres the kental, and our vessels are as free as their own to carry our commodities thither, and to bring away rum and molasses.

Great-Britain admits in her islands our vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine, rice and bread stuff, by a proclamation of her executive, limited always to the term of a year. She prohibits our salted provisions: she does not permit our vessels to carry thither our own produce. Her vessels alone may take it from us, and bring in exchange, rum, molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa nuts, ginger, and pimento. There are, indeed, some freedoms in the island of Dominica, but under such circumstances

circumstances as to be little used by us. In the British continental colonies, and in Newfoundland, all our productions are prohibited, and our vessels forbidden to enter their ports; their governors however, in times of distress, have power to permit a temporary importation of certain articles in their own bottoms, but not in ours.

Our citizens cannot reside as merchants or factors within any of the British plantations, this being expressly prohibited by the same statute of 12 Car. II. C. 18. commonly called the Navigation Act.

In the Danish American possessions, a duty of five per cent. is levied on our corn, corn-meal, rice, tobacco, wood, salted fish, indigo, hories, mules, and live stock; and of ten per cent. on our flour, salted pork and beef, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

In the American islands of the United Netherlands and Sweden, our vessels and produce are received, subject to duties, not so heavy as to have been complained of; but they are heavier in the Dutch possessions on the continent.

To sum up these restrictions, so far as they are important:

1st. In Europe—

Our bread stuff is at most times under prohibitory duties in England, and considerably dutied on exportation from Spain to her colonies.

Our tobaccoes are heavily dutied in England, Sweden, and France, and prohibited in Spain and Portugal.

Our rice is heavily dutied in England and Sweden, and prohibited in Portugal.

Our fish and salted provisions are prohibited in England, and under prohibitory duties in France.

Our whale-oils are prohibited in England and Portugal.

And our vessels are denied naturalization in England, and of late in France.

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2d. In

2d. In the West-Indies.

All intercourse is prohibited with the possessions of Spain and Portugal.

Our salted provisions and fish are prohibited by England.

Our salted pork, and bread stuff (except maize,) are received under temporary laws only, in the dominions of France, and our salted fish pays there a weighty duty.

3d. In the Article of Navigation.

Our own carriage of our own tobacco is heavily dutied in Sweden, and lately in France.

We can carry no article, not of our own production, to the British ports in Europe.

Nor even our own produce to her American possessions.

Such being the restrictions on the commerce and navigation of the United States, the question is, in what way they may best be removed, modified, or counteracted?

As to the commerce, two methods occur. 1. By friendly arrangements with the several nations with whom these restrictions exist: or, 2d. By the separate act of our own legislatures for countervailing their effects.

There can be no doubt, but that of these two, friendly arrangement is the most eligible. Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, could it be relieved from all its shackles in all parts of the world—could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual surplusses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness: the numbers of mankind would be increased, and their condition bettered.

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Would even a single nation begin with the United States this system of free commerce, it would be advisable to begin it with that nation; since it is by one only that it can be extended to all. Where the circumstances of either party render it expedient to levy a revenue, by way of impost, on commerce, its freedom might be modified, in that particular, by mutual and equivalent measures, preserving it entire in all others.

Some nations, not yet ripe for free commerce, in all its extent, might still be willing to mollify its restrictions and regulations for us in proportion to the advantages which an intercourse with us might offer. Particularly they may concur with us in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each side, or in compensating any excess of duty, by equivalent advantages of another nature. Our commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to favour in most countries. The commodities we offer are either necessaries of life, or materials for manufacture, or convenient subjects of revenue; and we take in exchange, either manufactures, when they have received the last finish of art and industry, or mere luxuries. Such customers may reasonably expect welcome, and friendly treatment at every market; customers too, whose demands, increasing with their wealth and population, must very shortly give full employment to the whole industry of any nation whatever, in any line of supply they may get into the habit of calling for from it.

But should any nation, contrary to our wishes, suppose it may better find its advantages by continuing its system of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behoves us to protect our citizens, their commerce, and navigation, by counter-prohibitions, duties, and regulations also. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them.

Our navigation involves still higher considerations. As a branch of industry, it is valuable; but as a resource, essential.

Its value, as a branch of industry, is enhanced by the dependence of so many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in transportation, and so keeps that at its proper level; and in times of war, that is to say, when those nations who may be our principal carriers, shall be at war with each other, if we have not within ourselves the means of transportation, our produce must be exported in belligerent vessels at the increased expence of warfreight and insurance, and the articles which will not bear that, must perish on our hands.

But it is a resource for defence that our navigation will admit neither neglect nor forbearance. The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land-board, and nothing to desire beyond their present rights. But on their sea-board, they are open to injury, and they have there, too, a commerce which must be protected. This can only be done by possessing a respectable body of citizen-seamen, and of artists and establishments in readiness for ship-building.

Were the ocean, which is the common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not set the example of appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprise and activity of their citizens for a due participation of the benefits of the seafaring business, and for keeping the marine class of citizens equal to their object. But if particular nations grasp at undue shares, and more especially if they seize on the means of the United States to convert them into aliment for their own strength, and withdraw them entirely from
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the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded, or it will be disarmed of its defence; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its politics may be influenced by those who command its commerce. The carriage of our own commodities, if once established in another channel, cannot be resumed in the moment we may desire. If we lose the seamen and artists whom it now occupies, we lose the present means of marine defence, and time will be requisite to raise up others, when disgrace or losses shall bring home to our feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining our due share of navigation are ours in abundance; and as to the mode of using them, we have only to adopt the principles of those who thus put us on the defensive, or others equivalent and better fitted to our circumstances.

The following principles being founded in reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and to offer no cause of complaint to any nation.

1st. Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same by theirs, first burthening or excluding those productions which they bring here in competition with our own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which at the same time we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himself into those states; where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may insure him the highest.

highest profits from his skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of the state governments to co-operate essentially, by opening the resources of encouragement which are under their controul, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture, for which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances have matured them, and fostering the precious efforts and progress of household manufacture, by some patronage suited to the nature of its objects, guided by the local informations they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and attentions. The oppressions on our agriculture in foreign ports would thus be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures, and population, at home.

2d. Where a nation refuses permission to our merchants and factors to reside within certain parts of their dominions, we may, if it should be thought expedient, refuse residence to theirs in any and every part of ours, or modify their transactions.

3. Where a nation refuses to receive in our vessels any productions but our own, we may refuse to receive, in theirs, any but their own productions. The first and second clauses of the bill reported by the committee are well formed to effect this object.

4th. Where a nation refuses to consider any vessel as ours which has not been built within our territories, we should refuse to consider as theirs any vessel not built within their territories.

5th. Where a nation refuses to our vessels the carriage even of our own productions to certain countries under their domination, we might refuse to theirs, of every description, the carriage of the same productions to the same countries. But as justice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that those who have no part in imposing the restriction on us, should not be the victims of measures adopted to defeat

feat its effect, it may be proper to confine the restriction of vessels owned or navigated by any subjects of the same dominant power, other than the inhabitants of the country to which the said productions are to be carried.—And to prevent all inconvenience to the said inhabitants, and to our own, by too sudden a check on the means of transportation, we may continue to admit the vessels marked for future exclusion, on an advanced tonnage, and for such length of time only, as may be supposed necessary to provide against that inconvenience.

The establishment of some of these principles by Great-Britain alone has already lost us, in our commerce with that country and its possessions, between eight and nine hundred vessels of near 40,000 tons burthen, according to statements from official materials, in which they have confidence. This involves a proportional loss of seamen, shipwrights, and ship-building, and is too serious a loss to admit forbearance of some effectual remedy.

It is true we must expect some inconvenience in practice, from the establishment of discriminating duties. But in this, as in so many other cases, we are left to choose between two evils. These inconveniences are nothing when weighed against the loss of wealth and loss of force, which will follow our perseverance in the plan of indiscrimination.—When once it shall be perceived that we are either in the system or the habit of giving equal advantages to those who extinguish our commerce and navigation, by duties and prohibitions, as to those who treat both with liberality and justice, liberality and justice will be converted by all into duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and justice of others we are to trust for fair and equal access to market with our productions, or for our due share in the transportation of them; but to our means of independence, and the firm will to use them. Nor do the inconveniences of discrimination merit consideration.

sideration. Not one of the nations before mentioned, perhaps not a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In our case one distinction alone will suffice, that is to say, between nations who favour our productions and navigation, and those who do not favour them. One set of moderate duties, say the present duties, for the first, and a fixed advance on these as to some articles, and prohibitions as to others, for the last.

Still it must be repeated, that friendly arrangements are preferable with all who will come into them; and that we should carry into such arrangements all the liberality and spirit of accommodation, which the nature of the case will admit.

France has, of her own accord, proposed negotiations for improving, by a new treaty, on fair and equal principles, the commercial relations of the two countries. But her internal disturbances have hitherto prevented the prosecution of them to effect, though we have had repeated assurances of a continuance of the disposition.

Proposals of friendly arrangement have been made on our part by the present government to that of Great-Britain, as the message states; but, being already on as good a footing in law, and a better in fact, than the most favoured nation, they have not as yet discovered any disposition to have it meddled with.

We have no reason to conclude that friendly arrangements would be declined by the other nations with whom we have such commercial intercourse as may render them important. In the mean while, it would rest with the wisdom of Congress to determine whether, as to those nations, they will not surcease *exparte* regulations, on the reasonable presumption that they will concur in doing whatever justice and moderation dictate should be done.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

P. S. Since writing the above, some alterations of the condition of our commerce with some sovereign nations

nations have taken place. France has proposed to enter into a new treaty of commerce with us, on liberal principles; and has, in the mean time, relaxed some of the restraints mentioned in the Report. Spain has, by an ordinance of June last, established New Orleans, Pensacola, and St. Augustine, into free ports, for the vessels of friendly nations having treaties of commerce with her, provided they touch for a permit at Corcubion in Gallicia, or at Alicant; and our rice is by the same ordinance excluded from that country.

The following are some of the principal Articles of Exportation from the United States of America during the Year ending in September, 1792.

Three millions one hundred and forty thousand two hundred and fifty-five bushels of grain (principally wheat).

One million four hundred and sixty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-three barrels of flour, meal, biscuit, and rice (reducing casks of various sizes to the proportion of flour barrels).

Sixty million six hundred and forty-six thousand eight hundred and sixty-one feet of boards, plank, and scantling (inch board measure).

Thirty-one million seven hundred and sixty thousand seven hundred and two staves and hoops.

Seventy-one million six hundred and ninety-three thousand eight hundred and sixty-three shingles.

Nineteen thousand three hundred and ninety-one and a half tons of timber.

Eighteen thousand three hundred and seventy-four pieces of timber.

One thousand and eighty cedar and oak ship knees.

One hundred and ninety-one frames of houses.

Seventy-three thousand three hundred and eighteen oars, rafters for oars, and handspikes.

Forty-eight thousand eight hundred and sixty shoo or knock down casks.

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One hundred and forty-six thousand nine hundred and nine barrels of tar, pitch, turpentine and rosin.

Nine hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and fifteen gallons of spirits, distilled in the United States.

One hundred and sixteen thousand eight hundred and three barrels of beef, pork, bacon, mutton, oysters, &c. (reducing casks of various sizes to the proportion of beef and pork barrels.)

Two hundred and thirty-one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six barrels of dried and pickled fish.

Seven thousand eight hundred and twenty-three tons twelve cwt. and 4lb. of potashes and pearl ashes.

One hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-eight hogheads of tobacco.

Fifty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-one hogheads of flax-seed.

Forty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty-two horses, horned cattle, mules, and sheep.

The preceding extract from the copy of an authentic official return of all the exports from the United States of America, within the year, ending in September last, conveys an idea of the wealth, importance, and progressive prosperity of that country, far surpassing what has been heretofore entertained on the subject.

P. S. From the 1st of January, 1793, to the 1st of January, 1794, there were exported from the port of Philadelphia, 422,075 barrels of flour.

Of the Civil List, and Revenue of the United States.

Abstract of an Estimate of the Expenditures of the civil list of the United States, for the year 1793, reported by A. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury to the House of Representatives.

	Dollars.
President's Salary	25,000
Vice-President's ditto	5,000
Chief Justice	4,000
Five Associate Justices	17,500
	All

All the district Judges	21,700
Congress	143,591
Treasury Department	55,050
Department of State	6,300
Department of War	11,250
Commissioners of old accounts	13,300
Loan Offices	13,250
Western Territory	11,000
Amount of Pensions	5,267
Contingencies	20,264

Total 352,466 or
 In British Money £. 79,304 17 osterl.
The Revenues.

The American revenue, for 1793, is stated to be 4,400,000 dollars, exclusive of what may arise from the sale of lands in the Western Territory; there is likewise upwards of the value of 5,000,000 dollars in bullion, lying in the Bank of the United States.

Estimate of Expence for the Year 1794.

	Dols.	Cents.
The whole Civil List for 1794, is	397,201	6
Extraordinaries for Public Works, Benevolences, &c. -	147,693	43
Estimate of the War Expences for 1794 - - - -	1,457,936	1
Total	2,002,830	50

The Dollar is 4s. 6d. sterling, and the Cent is the hundredth part of a Dollar.

The celebrated Mr. Thomas Paine, in his letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas, published in London in the month of June, 1792, and who on this subject, (without offending any party) may be entitled to credit, gives a statement of the expences of the American government in the following words:

The expences of all the several departments of the General Representative Government of the United States of America, extending over a space of country nearly

nearly ten times larger than England, is two hundred and ninety-four thousand five hundred and fifty-eight dollars, which at 4s. 6d. per dollar, is 66,275l. 11s. sterling, and is thus apportioned:

Expences of the Executive Department.

The Office of the Presidency, at which the President receives nothing for himself	£.	s.
Vice President	5,625	0
Chief Justice	1,125	0
Five associate Justices	900	0
Nineteen Judges of Districts and Attorney General	3,937	10
	6,873	15

Legislative Department.

Members of Congress at six dollars (1l. 7s.) per day, their Secretaries, Clerks, Chaplains, Messengers, Door-keepers, &c.	25,515	0
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Treasury Department.

Secretary, Assistant, Comptroller, Auditor, Treasurer, Register, and Loan-Office-Keeper, in each state, together with all necessary Clerks, Office-Keepers, &c.	12,825	0
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Department of State, including Foreign Affairs.

Secretary, Clerks, &c. &c.	1,406	5
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Department of War.

Secretary, Clerks, Paymasters, Commissioner, &c.	1,462	10
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Commissioners for settling Old Accounts.

The whole Board, Clerks, &c.	2,598	15
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Incidental and Contingent Expences.

For Fire Wood, Stationary, Printing, &c.	4,006	16
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Total 66,275 11

FINIS.

